



The Inscriptions of Dodona and a New History of Molossia

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Elizabeth A. Meyer

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New History of Molossia



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Umschlagabbildung: Detail of sword hilt, third century BC, Ioannina Museum 1373.
Drawing by SeungJung Kim, after Katsikoudis (2005) plate 23.

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for my friends in Heidelberg

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PREFACE

This is not a book I was aware I wanted to write when in the course of another project I first started to investigate the date and meaning of the slave-manumission plaques from the great sanctuary at Dodona, Epirus's preeminent oracular shrine. But northwestern Greece exerts its own particular spell, its rough history introducing me to issues – of kingship, of federalism, of great sanctuaries and their administration, of regional alliance – that had not caught my interest before. It also introduced me to archaeologists and historians previously unknown to me whose hospitality and helpfulness were unsurpassed. I have many to thank.

My trip to the Ioannina Museum was a particular adventure, since at the time the museum was closed and most of the finds were stored on a local army base: here Georgia Pliakou and Christos Kleitsas were exceptionally helpful to me, and I was also delighted to be in the company of my friend Molly Richardson, an invaluable companion on any epigraphical outing. In Athens the Dodona metal plaques are stored or on display in the National Museum, and here I have Photeini Zaphiropoulou, Nomiki Palaiokrassa, and Vassilis Barkas to thank for making it so easy to work there. The process of obtaining permission to see what I wanted was overseen by Maria Pilali at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, and to her, Bob Bridges the School Secretary, and the School's Director, Jack Davis, I am very grateful, as I am also to the British School and to Robert Pitt, its Assistant Director, for accommodation in the School and for many illuminating epigraphical conversations.

No travel would have been possible without the generous two-year grant awarded to me by the Gerda Henkel Stiftung and the two-year leave granted to me by the University of Virginia. My home base during these two years was the Seminar für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik at the University of Heidelberg. Kai Brodersen (now President of the University of Erfurt) and Angelos Chaniotis (now at the Institute for Advanced Study) were instrumental in finding me this German home, while Christian Witschel, as the head of the Seminar, ensured that all its magnificent resources were available to me; Sebastian Schmidt-Hofner and Marion Süfling gracefully untangled some of the mysteries of life in Germany for a foreigner, and became friends as well.

Many friends, old and new, also helped with the manuscript. Pierre Cabanes supplied two photographs for the epigraphic appendix; Chrissy Mysko did the formatting and book lay-out; George Skoch drew the maps; SeungJung Kim designed the cover and drew its Dodona eagle; Bill Furley and Christian Mileta (and his wide circle of epigraphic savants) helped with some readings of texts; Coulter George provided wise advice on matters of northwest dialect; John Camp, Thomas Corsten, and Michael Lendon read the manuscript; Angelos Chaniotis read the manuscript twice (and made crucial epigraphic suggestions as well); and Tony Woodman helped with a final proofreading. I have Angelos Chaniotis, the late Géza Alföldy,

and Christian Witschel to thank for accepting this book in the *HABES* series. Finally, Ted Lendon kept the book comprehensible when it threatened to become too technical, applauded all efforts at fluid narrative, and always pushed for The Big Picture. I owe him, as always, more than I can say.

Elizabeth A. Meyer
Charlottesville, Virginia
January, 2012

INTRODUCTION

With its rushing waters, rich Alpine pastures, and wood-cloaked mountains, ancient Molossia, in the northwest of Greece, was one of the nature's loveliest places. At least in summer: in winter it was one of nature's hardest – *frigida, dura, aspera*, as Livy bluntly characterized its northernmost reaches: subject to crushing cold and deep snows that blocked mountain passes, froze fingers, and isolated the Molossians from the outside world.¹ The most famous son of this mountain realm was Pyrrhus, the powerful warrior-king named for fire, who in his towering goat's-horn helmet fought so brilliantly against the Romans in the south of Italy. But the history written for this kingdom of Molossia and its wider region, Epirus – although it nods to the blaze of Pyrrhus's glory in the wider Greek and south Italian worlds of the third century BC – prefers to concentrate on Molossia's constitutional development, mostly in the century before Pyrrhus. The story of this development is based on the inscriptions of Dodona, and two of the consequences of the way it has been written, depending as it does on unexamined epigraphical criteria for dating, are curious: Molossia in the fourth century BC is presented as constitutionally in advance of the rest of Greece, and Molossia in Pyrrhus's century has virtually no inscriptions and therefore no internal history. These are striking and suggestive discrepancies. This study, after a rapid traverse of the history of Molossia and Epirus as it is now understood (I), re-examines dating criteria for, in particular, inscriptions of the fourth and third centuries BC and adjusts the dates of most of them downwards (II), then applies the consequences of that readjustment to examine seven basic tenets of Molossian history in the fourth and third centuries (III) and rewrites that history (IV). The redating of many inscriptions to the third century from their current fourth-century placement thus permits a history of Molossia and Epirus to be written that correlates the Molossians' epigraphic habits with their undoubted historical achievements, and places Pyrrhus and his son Alexander II in a context that can both explain them and, when both were away hunting glory and the former achieving immortality, function successfully without them.

1 Waters, Pliny *HN* 4.1 (Theop. *FGrH* 115 F319). Meadowland: Hes. *Eoiai* fr. 115.1 (Hirschberger), πολυλήϊος ἡδ' εὐλείμων, of a land he called 'Hellopia' (=240 MW). Wooded mountains and springs: *montes vestiti frequentibus silvis sunt, iuga summa campos patentes aquasque perennes habent*, Livy 32.13.3. Cold: *frigida haec omnis duraque cultu et aspera plaga est*, Livy 45.30.7, and Hammond (from whom these passages are culled, 1967, 39–40) reported (1967, 17) that in the winter of 1940–1 the Greek army in northern Epirus "had more casualties through frostbite than it had in battle throughout the entire campaign."

I. THE ESTABLISHED VIEW

The history of Molossia and the Epirote *koinon* that has become standard was crafted by Nicholas Hammond (in 1967) and Pierre Cabanes (in 1976), subsuming or superseding earlier work by Martin Nilsson (1909), Geoffrey Cross (1932), and Peter Franke (1955). It is now enshrined in the second edition of the *Cambridge Ancient History* and admirably recapitulated, and even extended, in several recent works.² This history resolutely pushes the Molossian kings into the background and divides the history of Epirus into three phases: the Molossian *koinon* (ca. 400–330/328 BC), the ‘Epirote Alliance’ or ‘Symmachy’ (328–232 BC), and the Epirote *koinon* (232–167 BC). In this account the development of federalism is the key theme, and here Molossia is regarded as a pioneer, a signal contributor to this important Greek invention.³

In this now standard telling, the Aeacid Tharyps was the first non-mythical Molossian king after Thucydides’s dimly perceptible Admetus to become known to the city-states of the south by name, and was Hellenized to such an extent that he was given Athenian citizenship, and was said to have been educated in Athens.⁴ During his reign (variously dated – ending either ca. 400 BC or somewhat later)⁵ the Molossians took control of the sanctuary of Dodona away from the Thesprotians to the west, in the mountains on the edge of the central Molossian plain (see **MAP 1**).⁶

- 2 Beck 1997, 135–45; Davies 2000; S. Funke 2000a; Moustakis 2006, 60–90; see also Sakellariou 1997, 74–89. For *CAH*², see Hammond 1994a and Franke 1989.
- 3 “[T]he crucible of Greek political creativity,” Davies 2000, 258. In S. Funke 2000a, 219 the three phases are different types of “monarchischer Bundesstaat” (“monarchic federal state”), the first of which replaced the “königlich geführter Stammstaat” (“*ethnos*-state led by the king”) before the end of the fifth century BC, with Alcetas I (ca. 385–370 BC) re-establishing the (constitutional) monarchic federal state after a brief period of “republican government” (127).
- 4 Admetus: Thuc. 1.136–7 (the Themistocles digression). Mythical kings included Neoptolemus, son of Achilles. Hellenized: in giving citizenship to Arybbas II in 343/2 the Athenians note that they had given it to his father [restored] and grandfather (Arybbas I=Tharyps) as well, Rhodes and Osborne 2003, 348–55 no. 70 ll.3–7 (=IG II² 226, *GHI* no. 173, and *Syll.*³ 228); educated, Justin-Trogus 17.3.11, but Nilsson (1909, 44–5) is doubtful. S. Funke (2000a, 113–18, 123–6) additionally argues for a long-standing Hellenization of Molossia so strong that Thucydides’s classification of the Molossians among the barbarians (2.80.1) and the archaic flavor of Molossia conveyed through his “clichéd” Admetus episode have historical value only as artefacts of a fifth-century Athenian mindset.
- 5 Hammond 1967, 508 (citing Cross: 400 BC); S. Funke (2000a, 127) argued for 390 BC.
- 6 Dodona is still Thesprotian in the time of Pindar (Strabo 7.7.11 [C328]=fr. 263 Bowra), Aeschylus (*PV* 829–31), and Euripides (*Phoin.* 982, ca. 410 BC); Paus. 1.17.5 also called it Thesprotian. Cross (1932, 6–7 n.2) and Hammond (1967, 491–2) thought these references merely ‘traditional,’ while Dakaris (1971a, 21) and Cabanes (1976a, 113–14) see them as reflecting historical reality, and place the Molossian seizure of the sanctuary in the early fourth century.



Map 1: Molossia and the Northwest.

By the time of his grandson Neoptolemus, son of Alcetas, ruling as sole king between (probably) 370 and 368 BC, the Molossians have constructed for themselves a federal *koinon* – their coins read “of the Molossians”⁷ – of which their king (who, it is alleged, had been a child like Tharyps, or weak like his son Alcetas I, or in some other way compromised when it was founded)⁸ was titular head. This *koinon*, firmly oriented towards the Greek states to the south and west, in the next forty years expanded and contracted in its membership and extent as circumstances changed.⁹ At one time the *koinon* controlled even a stretch of the Thesprotian coast opposite Corcyra and a share of the northern coastline of the bay of Arta (Ambra-cia), while after 342 it achieved, with the help of Philip II of Macedon, dominion over three northwestern *poleis* in Thesprotia, although losing control of some of the northern tribes closer to Macedonia itself.¹⁰

Either after 343/2, when Philip placed his brother-in-law Alexander I on the throne of Molossia, or after 331/0, when that Alexander died on campaign in south Italy, the Molossian *koinon* (“a well-knit egalitarian tribal state” with a “common citizenship” that had shown itself “capable of expansion”)¹¹ transformed itself, in this interpretation, into a larger entity. The previous coinage “of the Molossians” disappeared, to be replaced by that “of the Apeirotes” (*Apeirotān*). The *koinon* was renamed “Apeiros” or “the Molossians and their allies”¹² around 330/328 BC – and (by the end of the century) “those of the Apeirotes who are allied” – and was characterized in particular by the incorporation of all of the Thesprotians into the new state.¹³ Pyrrhus, as king of the Molossians, titular head of the new state, and

7 Franke 1961, 99–106.

8 S. Funke 2000a, 127–53: a *Bundesstaat* created under the youthful Tharyps, re-established by the weak Alcetas I; Hammond (1967, 533) opts for the opportune moment when Alcetas I was in exile.

9 “Lock[ed] . . . into the power struggles of Balkan Greece,” Davies 2000, 245 and drawn into Greek interaction, e.g., Beck 1997, 140 and Davies 2000, 244; the Molossian kings were allies of the Athenians in the Second Athenian Naval League, Rhodes and Osborne 2003, 92–105 no. 22 II. 109–10=SVA² 2.257 B13–14.

10 Hammond 1967, 512–24, 527, 529–33 (at 531 and 533, *koinon* founded ca. 386/5 but the “enlarged” state sometime before 386; also 1994a, 431), 538–40; Cabanes 1976a, 113–14, 130–2, 163–72; Davies (2000, 237) sees a concerted policy of predominance and expansion within the region.

11 Hammond 1994a, 436 and 1967, 557; also Cabanes 2004, 31 on the relationship between *koinon* and expansion.

12 “Apeiros,” *SEG* XXIII.189 I 1.11; “Molossians and their allies,” *IG* IX² 1.4.1750=Carapanos 1878a, 39–40 and pl. XXII. See Cabanes 1976a, 151–5 (summarizing earlier views as well), 172–83; Hammond (1967, 534 and 1994a, 441) also suggests that the phrase “Molossians and their allies” points to a league with a bicameral system of hegemonic state and allies in council.

13 Franke (1955, 36–7), Hammond (1967, 560) and Cabanes (1976a, 172) all agree that Aristotle’s lost *Politeia* of the Epirotes shows conclusively that the new state “Apeiros” (*SEG* XXIII.189 I 1.11) was in existence by 326/5; the phrase “those of the Apeirotes who are allied” is used in *SGDI* 1336 (although I doubt this translation: see below pp. 67–9), and scholars refer to the entity as “the Epirote Alliance” or “the Epirote Symmachy.” See Hammond 1967, 537, 541–6, 549–51, 557–71 (560, in the “Epirote League” the Molossians do not have a special position, but are merely one among many); Franke (1955, 43) thought that Olympias of Macedon was responsible for the new state’s creation; Hammond (1967, 559) attributed it

hegemon of a wider alliance (which also included Chaonians, Acarnanians, and Athamanians),¹⁴ led it to great military achievements abroad, including two costly victories over the Romans and the (temporary) expulsion of the Carthaginians from all but one city of Sicily. He also expanded Epirote dominion (northwest, northeast, south) at home,¹⁵ a dominion fought for, and mostly maintained, by his son and successor Alexander II.¹⁶ Both were kings whose powers were “set . . . within relatively narrow confines” by “the constitution” – constitutional checks of various sorts – with most powers held instead by the Epirote Alliance and, if the *koinon* of the Molossians survived into this century, by that *koinon*.¹⁷ The decade after Alexander II’s death (ca. 240–232 BC) was more troubled, however, as allies to the north were raided by the Illyrians, whose piratical forays also interrupted overseas trade. This dark decade culminated in the deaths of both of Alexander’s sons, Pyrrhus and Ptolemaeus; the revolt of the city of Ambracia from Molossian control; the terrifying mob-driven murder of the great Pyrrhus’s grand-daughter, Deidameia, at the altar of Artemis Hegemonē in Ambracia; and the vindictive scattering of the great Pyrrhus’s ashes from his Ambraciot tomb.¹⁸

The death of the last Aeacid, the destruction of monarchic rule, and continued other troubles form (in this interpretation) the backdrop of the last phase of Epirus (232–167 BC), that of the ‘Epirote *koinon*’ led by a *strategos*, in which all adult males “had a common citizenship” as Epirotes.¹⁹ The sack of Phoenikē, chief city of the Chaonians and “the richest and most powerful city in Epirus,”²⁰ by the Illyrians in 230, further Illyrian depredations along the coast, and subsequent Roman intervention prompted Epirus’s western and northern friends and allies – Corcyra, Apollonia, Epidamnus, the Atintani, eventually Orikos – to seek and receive Roman protection.²¹ The Epirote *koinon*’s alliance with Philip V of Macedon involved

to Antipater, and (1967, 562–3 and 1994a, 441, 442) argued that this cunning maneuver froze Molossian growth; S. Funke (2000a, 185) identifies Alexander I as the ‘founder’ of the new state. Thesprotians, Cabanes 1976a, 175–6.

14 DH 20.1, Plut. *Pyrrh.* 28.2, 30.2, 30.5.

15 Hammond 1967, 568–71, 586–8.

16 Hammond 1967, 588–90; Cabanes 1976a, 75–93.

17 Quotation, Franke 1989, 459; Franke (*ibid.*) and Hammond (1967, 564–7) argued (*contra* Nilsson 1909, 61) that the *koinon* of the Molossians continued to exist within the League (at 561 Hammond argued that the powers of the ‘Alliance’ were only financial – taxation – and military); Cabanes (1976a, 176) and S. Funke (2000a, 179 n.329) do not accept this prolongation of the life of the Molossian *koinon* and instead see a transformation of the entire state.

18 Justin-Trogus 28.1, 28.3; Polyae. *Strat.* 8.52 (“daughter of Pyrrhus,” interpreted as “daughter of Pyrrhus son of Pyrrhus”), S. Funke 2000a, 216–18; discussed Hammond 1967, 591–2. Family examined by Cabanes 1976a, 39–74.

19 Hammond 1967, 648 (quotation); constitution of the *koinon*, Cabanes 1976a, 353–89 (he discusses sub-*koina* as well); complicated events of 232–228 BC, discussed Cabanes 1976a, 198–216.

20 Pol. 2.6.8.

21 Pol. 2.11.5; discussed Hammond 1967, 595–602; Orikos in 214, Hammond 1967, 609. Cabanes (1976a, 354) also speculates that ‘Epirus’ lost Kelaitha (to independence within Thes-saly) and the Athamanes because they received Delphic *theorodokoi* in a list dated 230–220 BC (Plassart 1921, 65–7; date, Hatzopoulos 1991), as (he argues) only independent entities did.

Epirus in war against the Aetolians and the Romans on and off between 228 and 205, one devastating consequence of which was the sack of Dodona by the Aetolians in 219.²² Between 205 and 197 the alliance with Macedon became more difficult to sustain, the relationship with the Romans closer as the Romans pursued Philip across Epirote territory without ravaging it, and both paid the Epirotes to supply Roman armies in Thessaly and took Epirote volunteers into battle.²³ After the battle of Cynoscephalae, Rome and Epirus were allied, if at times uneasily, but in 170 BC the Epirote *koinon* split into pro- and anti-Roman factions over Rome's third Macedonian war against Perseus, and in the year after Pydna Aemilius Paulus's soldiers destroyed seventy cities in Molossia and took 150,000 Epirotes as slaves, thus effectively ending the history of the Epirote *koinon*.²⁴

22 This complicated period discussed in Hammond 1967, 602–13; Cabanes 1976a, 216–31.

23 Oost 1954, 40–53; Hammond 1967, 613–20; Cabanes 1976a, 241–78.

24 An alliance with Rome when or on what terms is debated, see Hammond 1967, 621; at 621–35 he narrates the story of Epirus down to the destruction of Molossia in 167; see, too, Cabanes 1976a, 279–308. The Epirote *koinon* itself appears four last times after 167 BC, twice as “the *koinon* of the Epirotes around Phoenikē” honoring a man in *Syll.* 653A (= *I. Alexandria Troas* no. 5) and 653B (Delphi; after 165 BC); and twice as the “*koinon* of the Epirotes,” honoring a man in *Syll.* 654A (Delphi) and at Oropos, *I. Oropos* 433 l.4 (154–152 BC). “The Molossians” and “the Molossians’ *ethnos*” appear once again as well, honoring Thessalian judges in 130/129 BC (*SEG* LVII.510=Tziafalias and Helly 2007, 424 l.57; 425 ll.63, 66, 68, 69, 72, 73–4; discussed 455–6); the heading (redacted by the Thessalians) refers to “a *psephisma* of the *koinon* of the Molossians,” so the redactors saw the Molossians as a *koinon* even if the Molossians did not officially call themselves that (Tziafalias and Helly 2007, 456).

II. THE DATING OF INSCRIPTIONS FROM DODONA

This received narrative relies on close reading of the ancient sources: hints and scattered remarks in Polybius, Livy, Appian, Diodorus Siculus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Justin-Trogus; itineraries in Strabo and other geographers; Plutarch; coins; and, above all, the epigraphical record. The inscriptions, deriving chiefly from Dodona and for the most part not firmly dated,²⁵ are particularly important to Epirus's fourth-century history and for the reconstruction and dating of the internal developments of Molossia and the Epirote *koinon*. Most attention has focussed on the 'political' inscriptions – grants of privileges (like *proxenia*, *politeia*, and *ateleia*) – and less has been given to the manumissions and dedications.²⁶ Yet dating problems affect all types of inscription pretty much equally: the epigraphical criteria for dating have never been examined closely and the attribution (decreed in the nineteenth century) of certain letter-forms to certain centuries has never been systematically justified for this area, or even subsequently questioned.²⁷ In this chapter, the manumissions and a handful of dated dedications are used to refine the epigraphical dating criteria. The result is that the probable dating of fourteen of the earlier inscriptions changes significantly: four manumissions and ten grants of privilege previously assigned to the fourth century most likely belong in the third century BC instead.²⁸ Given the degree to which the area's internal history has been deduced from inscriptions, this redating has substantial consequences for the Molossian kingdom's internal history, the relationship of this internal history to the dynamic of its outward expansion under the kings, and Molossia's relationship with Thesprotia and Chaonia in particular.

The twenty-seven surviving slave-manumissions from Dodona have been dated on the basis of a combination of 'strong' and 'weak' dating criteria. 'Strong'

25 Now mostly in the National Museum in Athens, in the Archaeological Museum of Ioannina, or lost. For permission to examine metal plaques now in the National Museum, I thank Photeini Zapheirou, Nomiki Palaiokrassa, and Vassilis Barkas; for permission to examine material in Ioannina and exceptional assistance while there (in 2007 the Ioannina Museum materials were kept in trailers on the local army base while the museum was being renovated), Georgia Pliakou and Christos Kleitsas.

26 The planned *IG* volume for this northern area was never published. As a consequence, I follow custom and cite by *SGDI* number (for those inscriptions found before 1900), and by *C(abanes)* number (inscriptions in his *Epigraphical Appendix*: 1976a, 534–92) for those published more recently. In *my* *Epigraphical Appendix* I have re-edited all the manumissions, and therefore these inscriptions are also cited with their appendix number (in **bold**). Of the manumissions dated before 232 BC, *C(abanes no.)*72 (=no. 11) and C73 (=no. 12), two fragmentary inscriptions that may not be manumissions, could not be located in spring 2007. The inscribed votives are gathered and studied as a group for the first time by Dieterle 2007, 85–102, although she accepts all attributed dates and does not concern herself with the epigraphy.

27 Thus Katsikoudis (2005, 48–53) gives an overview of letter-forms based on the dates already given, and does not make distinctions between media.

28 The proposed changes from Cabanes's now standard dating (1976a, 158–61 on grants and 456–7, a chart of manumissions) are summarized in Chart 2, below pp. 42–4.

criteria for dating are dating formulae that clearly refer to one or another epoch in Molossian/Epirote political history: dating by Aeacid kings; dating by *strategos* of the (*koinon* of the) Epirotes (after the extermination of the monarchy in 232); and dating by other officials, like agonothetes or naiarchs, only known (or thought to have existed) at certain times. (Dating by the official called the *prostatas* has not helped in the past, since this official appears in all periods.) ‘Strong,’ too, is dating by the identification of persons named in the inscriptions when they are otherwise known from historical sources like Polybius or Livy.

‘Weak’ criteria for dating are those of letter-form alone. The use of this never entirely straightforward method of dating is further complicated by the propensity at Dodona to inscribe public documents on bronze and copper plaques in addition to stone:²⁹ as inscribed material clearly from the period of the Epirote *koinon* (after 232) shows, letter forms from the same epoch can be different in different media, forms on stone being slower to adopt lunate or cursive forms.³⁰ Indeed, there

29 Of a total of sixty-one inscriptions of all types from Dodona in Cabanes 1976a, 534–92, and not including two inscribed vases (C31) or six oracular lamellae (C20–25), forty-six are on bronze and fifteen are on stone; fourteen more fragments, on bronze, were published in Carapanos 1878a (five of which also appeared in *SGDI*: 1342, 1345, 1364, 1366, and 1367) but were not republished by Cabanes. Four more (non-oracular) inscriptions have appeared since the mid-seventies. (1) A bronze fragment in Dakaris 1972 [1974] 97 and pl. 71γ (not in *SEG*), perhaps a grant of privilege: [–]ω[–] | [– δόμ]εν γὰρ[ς ἔγκτασιν? –] | [–] Ἀρκτ[άνος –] | [– Ε]ὐρυμ[εναίων –] | [–]τουτ[–] | [– Πανσ]ανία [–] (Dakaris’s restorations). The city of Eurymenai (or of the Eurymenaiοι) mentioned (if the ethnic derives from the place) was plundered by the Macedonians in 313 BC (Diod. 19.88.6), but rebuilt and then destroyed by the Romans in 167 BC (Hammond 1967, 685), so the history of the place provides no helpful dating criterion for the letters, which vary in size (small omicron and gamma), tilt right, curl (epsilon), and ‘swing’ (mu). (2) Cabanes 1987a, 109–10 (=1997, 103; *SEG* XLVII.823), a third-century bronze fragment from Dodona in which only the words [β]ασιλεύς and [Α]πειρωτᾶ[ν] are legible. (3) Dakaris 1989 [1992] 179–80 (= *SEG* XXXVIII.457 and *SEG* XLIII.317), a stone base honoring an unknown person [– μα]ντείας ἔνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας τᾶς εἰς αὐτούς, made by Melissos, son of Epikrates, the Corcyraean, which from its find-spot in the sanctuary is dated to the end of the third century, with photograph now in Katsikoudis 2005, pl. 10 and a description of the letters at 2005, 76; Ma (2008) suggests [ἀν]δρείας ἔνεκεν (= *SEG* LV.628). (4) Souli *et al.* 2003 [2006] 69=BE 2006.228 and *SEG* LIII.571 (suggesting letter forms of the early third century BC: large, upright letters, including pi with a short second hasta, open sigma, and large omega on the line), a stone fragment found in a reused context (my restorations): -ΑΝΙΟ- | [– ἐμαρ]τύρησε ἐν τῷ δ[ημοσίῳ]? δ[ήμ]ωι? Δαυτίῳ μ[ηνί]? | [– Μολο]σσῶν αὐτοῦ παρε[–] | [– ἐ]ν τῇ ἀγορᾷ κριθῆμεν[–] | [–] Λιμν[αίας καὶ Α] [– (or possibly ΑΙ)] μν[ε]ίας καὶ ἀ[ρε]τᾶς | [–] ἐ[μ]εγ[–]. Of these seventy-nine total (non-oracular) inscriptions from Dodona, then, the proportions (bronze:stone) are 62:17, or 3.6:1.

30 The honors, grants of privileges, and manumissions on stone during the Epirote *koinon* (after 232 BC) are conservative, using large, upright letters; see (below pp. 31–2) the discussion of C14, C16, C17, C18, and C75 (=no. 24), which all have large omicron and omega. Only the very last stone inscription before 167 BC, the proxeny-decree *SGDI* 1339 (at latest, ca. 170 BC), has lunate epsilon, sigma, and omega; but such lunate forms were already characterizing bronze documents inscribed in the *pointillé* style as many as thirty-five years earlier, see C34 (ca. 205 BC, lunate epsilon and omega only) and the second-century manumissions *SGDI* 1349 (=no. 22), C71 (=no. 23), C76 (=no. 25), *SGDI* 1352 (=no. 26), and *SGDI* 1350 (=no. 27), all illustrated in the Epigraphical Appendix.

are differences of technique even in bronze-inscribing (and consequences deriving from the fineness of the implement used to inscribe and the thickness of the bronze) that can influence the shape of contemporary letters.³¹ Moreover, excavations at Dodona have produced more than 4200 oracular lamellae,³² which record mostly questions posed to the oracle on lead sheets by visitors. These, written in a variety of dialects and documentary hands, may have altered their letter-forms faster and earlier than inscriptions on other metals or stone (as might perhaps be expected of writing by non-professionals), and may have influenced letter-forms in the bronze inscriptions starting in the third century BC; but very little here is certain.³³ The consequence is that the existing assumptions – that large, straight letters on stone or bronze date ‘early,’ to the fourth century BC but no later, and that lunate letters (epsilon, sigma, and omega), alpha with broken bar, and pi with hastae of equal length date late, after 232 BC – are at best over-simplifications, although the *regular* use of lunate letters does indeed seem to be a phenomenon of the late third century and after.³⁴

- 31 Fraser 1954, 57 n.13. This is also shown by bronze plaques from the time of the Epirote *koinon*: *SGDI* 1338 (illustrated in Carapanos 1878a pl. XXIX.2) is inscribed in the *repoussé* style (hammering from the back with a modelling tool), with the large and upright letters that style favors; but the other contemporary bronze documents (like those listed in the preceding note) engraved in the *pointillé* style (using dots driven from the back of the plaque) use lunate letters. The result is that the first looks like most of the stone inscriptions, the others like cursive handwritten documents.
- 32 Méndez Dosuna 2006, 277; Dakaris *et al.* (1993, 55) had announced 1600.
- 33 Fixed points in the dating of lamellae are few, see Lhôte 2006, 15–21 (although most lamellae are fourth and third century, Lhôte 2006, 335 and 425–6; Mylonopoulos 2006, 201). The dating of letter forms is controversial. Thus Lhôte (2006, 17–18) accepts the arguments of others that the lunate sigma (in other media a criterion of late dating, see below nn.34 and 36) was used in the oracular lamellae by the end of the fourth century BC, thus appearing on these lead sheets one hundred years before it appeared on bronze. Yet this conclusion depends on the dating of *SEG* XV.397=Lhôte 2006, 59–61 no. 11, a question from “the city of the Chaonians” about whether they should move (ἀγγορίξαντας) their temple of Athena Polias. Dakaris *et al.* (1993, 58) – as well as others cited by Lhôte 2006, 17 and 60 – dated this lamella to ca. 330–320 BC (although in 1971a, 89 Dakaris had dated it to the third century) on the basis of a comparandum from the Athenian Kerameikos dated ca. 330 BC (but which uses both lunate and non-lunate sigmas), thus dating the Dodona lamella to the *earliest* appearance of a form of a letter rather than to some point later in that letter’s extensive life. *BE* 1993.345 understandably questioned this rationale for dating, and Lhôte is uncomfortable with this date but accepts it because he accepts the (unfounded) historical argument that the Chaonian city of Phoenikē *could not* ask a question after 300 BC because it had been subsumed into the Molossian state. Its letter-forms (the lamella also uses Π with a full-length second hasta, for example, and Μ and Λ are curved) fit better a century later (see below pp. 31–2) – and because Phoenikē was sacked in 230 BC, that question posed to the oracle might have even greater relevance than earlier. In this case, therefore, the postulation that letter-forms on lamellae follow a much more advanced trajectory of development is not well-founded; but it is nonetheless possible that other letter-forms in the lamellae could be more ‘advanced’ than they are on stone or bronze; see the discussion of Υ below n.58.
- 34 Lunate letters, in general after 232 BC, Evangelides 1935, 250; after 170 BC, Dakaris 1968 [1970] 98 n.1; lunate sigmas specifically, Cabanes 1976a, 454 (on *SGDI* 1352, 1357, and 1358), and (in general) Guarducci 1987, 82–4. That these forms at Dodona may start to occur *regu-*

It is the overly rigid application of these dating criteria with no regard for the differences of medium that has distorted the dating of the Epirote material, an unsurprising consequence when there have also been no explicit efforts to lay out in print the criteria by which, in particular, inscriptions of the fourth century might be distinguished from those of the third.³⁵ Dating criteria have also gotten tangled up in historical discussions of the constitutional development of the Molossian state, for over the years historical deductions made on the basis of tentatively dated inscriptions have hardened into ‘facts’ that in turn have been used to date other inscriptions. Now, however, more Dodonan inscriptions are known than in the nineteenth century, and comparative Hellenistic material can offer helpful parallels of letter-forms as well.³⁶ Both add useful information and perspectives, since the absolute fixed points for establishing letter-form criteria for the dating of Dodonan inscriptions are otherwise very few. Even the earliest of all (non-oracular) inscriptions, C1 (two grants of *politeia*, on stone), although confidently dated by its dating formula to 370–368 BC, the years of the sole reign of Neoptolemus son of Alcetas, may be in its physical form a re-inscription of these fourth-century grants, and therefore cannot be used to establish fourth-century letter-forms;³⁷ the last of the metal manumission plaques with a king in a dating formula, *SGDI* 1348, has been dated fairly confidently to the sole reign of Ptolemaeus son of Alexander, ca. 240 or 237–232 BC, but the restoration of the name is based on virtually nothing.³⁸ Between these two supposed anchors, there are now three dedications of king Pyrrhus (ca. 279 BC,

larly only *around* or *after* the end of the third century BC in *official* documents on *metal* is suggested by C34 (ca. 205 BC, lunate epsilon and sigma only, see above n.30) and a lead tablet from Dodona with 137 names published by Lhôte 1994 (=SEG LIV.577; this supersedes Antoniou 1991), in which the sigmas are still four-bar and the second hasta of Π does not go down to the baseline: he interprets this list as an account of grain-allocations and dates this plaque 219–190 BC.

- 35 The closest we come to a delineation of criteria is given (in passing) by Robert 1955, 284 (of the bronze honorific inscription *SEG* XV.412=C40, from Epirus but not from Dodona): despite the “sobriety of the letters” (implication: these straight letters should be fourth-century), nonetheless the small omicrons and omegas suspended above the line, the curved crossbar of the alpha, and the curved right hasta of pi date this piece to the third century BC. Fick (1879, 267–8) and Nilsson (1909, 59) dated by letter-form, but neither made clear why (specifically) they dated as they did. Fraser (1954, 57, on *SGDI* 1336, king Neoptolemus, son of Alexander) considered the small suspended omicron and the splay omega characteristic of inscriptions ca. 300 BC.
- 36 So, for (e.g.) lunate letters, in Epidamnus and Apollonia, further to the northwest, lunate and non-lunate letters start to mix at the end of the third century BC, N. Ceka 1993, 23 and 27 n.13 (although Fraser (1993, 30) finds this date too early, and at 32 suggests that this mixing began after 167 BC); here lunate epsilon and sigma are then considered characteristic of the (late) third through first centuries BC, Cabanes and Drini 1995, 50–1. In Achaea, Rizakis (1993, 115–17) noted that the lunate sigma is known from the end of the third century BC; in Cretan treaties, Chaniotis (1996, 452–9) found that lunate sigma appears in the late third century. McLean (2002, 41) and Bresson (1997, 492) of course warn against overly schematic application of letter-form criteria in dating.
- 37 See below n.92.
- 38 See the discussion in the Epigraphical Appendix, **no. 15**.

SGDI 1368; ca. 274 BC, *BE* 1969.347; undated, *SEG* XXIV.452),³⁹ four grants of privileges, one dedication, and two manumissions under ‘king Alexander’ (*SGDI* 1334–1337 and C6; *BE* 1976.345; *SGDI* 1346=no. 9 and C74=no. 8), and much else that is uncertain.

II.1. MANUMISSIONS AND DEDICATIONS

A more careful look at the manumissions, integrated into what can now be known about letter-forms from dated dedications, improves the dating criteria for all Dodonan inscriptions. Of twenty-seven manumissions, ten can be dated to the time of the Epirote *koinon* (232–167, and in a few cases possibly even after) either by their dating formulae (“when x was *strategos* of the Epirotes”), by the names mentioned (some known from Polybius and Livy), or by their consistent use of lunate letters.⁴⁰ Of an eleventh, only a witness-list was published and the fragmentary plaque can no longer be found; it may not even be a manumission.⁴¹ This leaves sixteen other manumissions whose dates are problematic, although they are probably to be dated to the period between 370 and 232 BC.⁴²

1. Dated by kings: C74 (=no. 8) and *SGDI* 1346 (=no. 9), both Alexander; *SGDI* 1348 (=no. 15), possibly Pyrrhus, or Ptolemaeus son of Alexander.
2. Dated by *prostatas* only: *SGDI* 1353 (=no. 14), “of the Molossians;” *SGDI* 1351 (=no. 1), *SGDI* 1354 (=no. 2), C68 (=no. 3), *SGDI* 1355 (=no. 6), unspecified.
3. Dated by *prostatas* (*sic*) and naiarch: *SGDI* 1356 (=no. 4, “*prostatas* of the Molossians”).
4. Dated by letter-form only: *SGDI* 1360 (=no. 5), C70 (=no. 7), *SGDI* 1359+1362 (=no. 10), C72 (=no. 11), C73 (=no. 12), *SGDI* 1363 (=no. 13), *SGDI* 1361 (=no. 16).

(i). Only three of these sixteen can be dated by ‘strong’ dating criteria. Yet even these ‘strong’ criteria are not straightforward. In the one thought to be the latest (*SGDI* 1348=no. 15) the king’s name must be restored in the dating formula,

39 (1) *SGDI* 1368, corrected by Larfeld 1887, 528=*Syll.*³ 392, *SEG* XLV.663, Dieterle 2007, 94–5 and 380 F603 ([Βασίλειος Πύρρο[ς καὶ] Ἡπείρω[ι]ται καὶ Τα[ραντίνω]ι ἂπὸ Ῥωμαίων καὶ συμμάχων Διὶ Ναίω[ι]); Carapanos (1878b, taf. 13) and Franke (1989, 469) are good drawings (inscribed bronze shield, ca. 279 BC). (2) Dakaris 1968 [1970], 58–9=*BE* 1969.347 (no *SEG* number), Dieterle 2007, 95 and 375 F425 ([Β]ασιλεύς), fragment of dedicated Macedonian shield, ca. 274 BC, well illustrated in Dakaris 1998, 19 fig. 13. (3) Dakaris 1966 [1968], 78 and pl. 80a=*BE* 1968.317, *SEG* XXIV.452, Dieterle 2007, 96 and 380 F606 (Πύρρου παρὰ –]| – ἡ]γήτορος –]| –]ΙΩΤ[–]); Oikonomides (1987, 123–4) thought the third line should read [Διὶ Ναίωι ἂπὸ Β]οιωτ[ῶν].

40 By formula, *SGDI* 1347 (=no. 17), *SGDI* 1349 (=no. 22), C75 (=no. 24), C76 (=no. 25), *SGDI* 1350 (=no. 27); nos. 22, 25, and 27 *also* have lunate letters. By name: *SGDI* 1349 (=no. 22), C75 (=no. 24), C76 (=no. 25), *SGDI* 1352 (=no. 26), *SGDI* 1350 (=no. 27); no. 26 *also* has lunate letters. By lunate letters only: C69 (=no. 18), *SGDI* 1357 (=no. 20), *SGDI* 1358 (=no. 21), C71 (=no. 23).

41 Dakaris 1967 [1969] 48 no. 1 (=no. 19); the shapes of its letters were not described. C69 (=no. 18) is also only a witness-list, and may not be a manumission.

42 Cabanes (1976a, 456–7) had dated all but *SGDI* 1360 and *SGDI* 1356 to this time period as well.

where the length of the gap has suggested to some “Ptolemaeus son of Alexander” (ca. 240–232 BC) rather than “Neoptolemus son of Alexander” (317–312 and 302–297 BC) – but despite the general acceptance of the first restoration the lacunose first line suggests the wisdom of making no identification at all.⁴³ The dating of the other two, C74 (=no. 8) and *SGDI* 1346 (=no. 9), is even more controversial, for although the king’s name is clear, there are two options, two kings of Molossia called Alexander, Alexander I (343/2–331/0) and Alexander II (272–242 or a little after).⁴⁴ Many of the elements of the dating formula are the same in these two inscriptions as they are in the four other ‘political’ inscriptions (not manumissions) dated by a king Alexander (two grants of *isopoliteia*, *SGDI* 1334=*I.Apoll.* 308 and *SGDI* 1337; a grant of *politeia*, *SGDI* 1335; and a grant of *ateleia*, C6), which have also been dated to the fourth century and Alexander I.⁴⁵ These elements are:

- (a) “Alexander was king” (βασιλεύοντος Ἀλεξάνδρου): in all six.
- (b) “when x, the [ethnic], was *prostatas* of the Molossians” (ἐπὶ προστατάτα): in all six, although one (*SGDI* 1346=no. 9) uses the participle προστατεύοντος instead. In this manumission, the name intervenes between the participle προστατεύοντος and “Molossians.” For *SGDI* 1334, 1335, and C6 the *prostatas* is the same man, Aristomachus the Omphals.
- (c) “x was secretary” (γραμματιστῆ, [γραμ]ματέος, γραμματεύοντος, γραματεύοντος, *SGDI* 1334, 1335, 1337, C74=no. 8) or “when x was secretary” ([ἐπὶ] δὲ γραμ[ματέος], C6): in five of six (*SGDI* 1346=no. 9 omits this dating element entirely). For 1334 and 1335 (restored), the secretary is the same man, Menedamus the Omphals; for C6 (restored) and C74 (=no. 8), the secretary is the same man, Menedamus the Larruos.

There are differences of formula and format among all six inscriptions,⁴⁶ but these small variations in the inscriptions are less important than the similarities,

- 43 Franke (1955, 56 n.9) suggested Neoptolemus on analogy with *SGDI* 1336, where the name certainly appears; Hammond (1967, 593) insisted that “no other name of a king [but Ptolemaeus] will fit the surviving letters except those given here,” but Cabanes (1988b, 56) revived the possibility that the king could be Neoptolemus (although with no new evidence or arguments). See the discussion in the Epigraphical Appendix, no. 15.
- 44 A little after: as now seems demonstrated by *IG IX*² 1.4.1474, see the discussion in Rigsby and Hallof 2001, 342–5 (*contra* Cabanes 1976a, 64).
- 45 Hammond 1967, 535, who relies on historical arguments (because “an enlarged Molossian state existed before Alexander [I] came to the throne [, . .] it is now safe to conclude that our four inscriptions [*SGDI* 1334, 1335, 1337, and 1346] date to the reign of Alexander I”); Cabanes 1976a, 160.
- 46 The opening invocation varies, being ἀγαθαὶ τύχαι (1334, C74=no. 8, 1346=no. 9), θεοὶ (restored, C6), or no invocation at all, or at least nothing restorable (1335 and 1337): although the top edge of 1335 is not preserved, the line length is restored as ca. twenty-five letters, and to add another line with θεός ἀγαθαὶ τύχαι would make this putative first line only fifteen letters long; the unsuitability of such an addition to 1337, where the line length is currently restored as twenty-eight letters, is similar. Other differences: in 1346 (=no. 9) the *prostatas* is identified as “Sabyrtius, the Onopernos Kartatos,” a type of double ethnic not seen in the names in the other five; and in the four grants of privileges the granting body is described differently: Μολοσσῶν τὸ κοινόν (1334), [τὸ κοινὸν] τῶν Μολοσσῶν (1337), [Μολοσσ]οί (C6), and [ἔδ]οξε τ[ᾶ]ν ἐκκλησίαι (!) τῶν [Μολοσσῶν] (1335).

indeed what must be the close contemporaneity (because of the presence of the same *prostatas* and the same secretaries) of at least four of them. These six inscriptions have been thought, rightly, to come from approximately the same date – the four possibly within a year and a half – on the assumption that the *prostatas* and the *grammateus* took office at different times in the year, so one *prostatas* could overlap two different secretaries.⁴⁷

But determining to which Alexander these inscriptions should be assigned brings other, weaker criteria into play, and here (as a consequence) scholars have disagreed. Fick dated *SGDI* 1335 (grant of *politeia*) to the fourth century, 1337 (grant of [*iso*]*politeia*) to the third century, both by their letter forms, and Dakaris thought that the lettering of the grant of *ateleia* (C6) was of the third century; but Fraser thought 1334 (grant of *isopoliteia*), 1335, 1337, and 1346 (=no. 9) all fourth century, and Cabanes thought the lettering of the manumission C74 (=no. 8) was “very certainly” of the fourth.⁴⁸ Yet C6 and C74 (=no. 8), thus dated to different centuries by letter-form, are restored with the same king, a different *prostatas*, and the same secretary.⁴⁹ These confusing contradictions are in a sense not surprising, since the letter-forms of these six inscriptions, even when they share *prostatas* or *grammateus*, are quite various. Compare the following photographs and drawings of the six (**FIGURES 1–6**): the drawings, taken from 1878 and 1881 publications (which I have compared to the original plaques in *SGDI* 1335, 1337, and 1346=no. 9; 1334 is lost), are accurate, although the letters of 1337 as published are a little more finely drawn (more dots per letter) than those of the plaque itself. Also added here is a fragmentary votive “of kin[g Alexand]er” (*BE* 1976.345; **FIGURE 7**), bringing the grand total of inscriptions dated by an (uncertain) king Alexander to seven.⁵⁰

47 For another suggestion, see below n.113.

48 Fick 1879, 267–8; Dakaris’s opinion is cited in Cabanes 1976a, 542. Fourth century: Fraser 1954, 57 (“the letters are more rigid and less elegant” than those of an inscription [*SGDI* 1336] dated to the reign of king Neoptolemus II [d. 295 BC], and therefore older; in n.13 he also admits that the two different styles of engraving in these documents, *pointillé* and *repoussé*, make those inscribed *repoussé* [1334 and 1335] look stiffer anyway, but nonetheless concludes, “I feel fairly confident that they are of the fourth century, and not the third”); Cabanes 1976a, 588. Elegance is very hard to assess; I find both *SGDI* 1334 and C6 very elegant – clear, symmetrical, vertical.

49 Fraser 1954, 57; Cabanes 1976a, 542. Although Cabanes notes that Dakaris’s opinion does not necessarily drag 1334 and 1335 down into the third century, since the secretary is different (although the king and the *prostatas* are the same), he then prefers to place them all a year apart in the fourth century anyway, because he assumes that the Epirotes rather than “the Molossians” (n.b. restored in 1335) would be making decisions about *ateleia* after 330.

50 Dakaris 1973 [1975], 93–4 and Abb. 1 (in no helpful archaeological context; on 94 he dates the letters ca. 300 BC); =*BE* 1976.345 and Dieterle 2007, 93–4 (Abb. 28) and 380 F595.

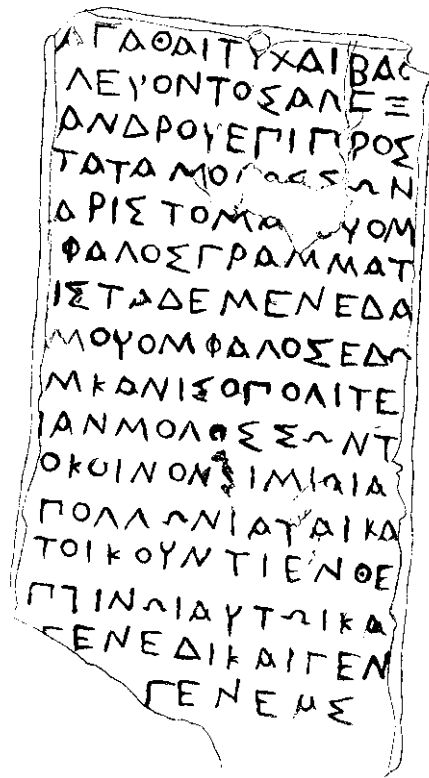
Figure 1. *SGDI* 1334.Figure 2. *SGDI* 1335.

Figure 3. *SGDI* 1337.

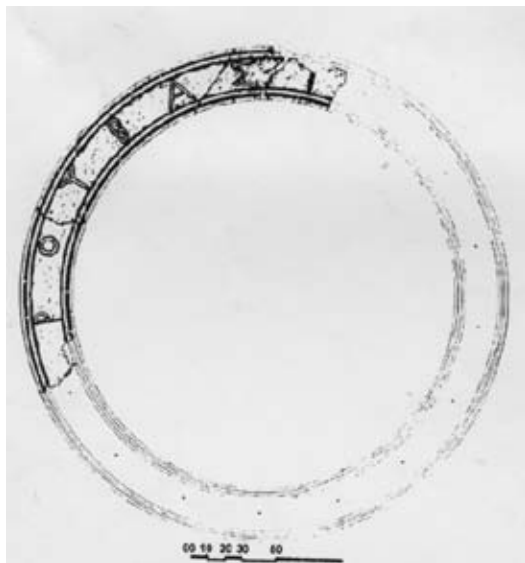
Figure 4. C6.



Figure 5. C74.



Figure 6. SGDI 1346.

Figure 7. *BE* 1976.345.

NOTE:

- (a) the bar of A can be curving or straight in the same document (1337); curving but not broken in 1334, broken only in C6; straight in 1335, C74 (=no. 8) and *BE* 1976.345; straight but slanting in 1346 (=no. 9).
- (b) O can be about three-quarter-size (1334, C6, *BE* 1976.345, C74=no. 8); or it can be smaller and float above the line (1337, 1346=no. 9); or it can be small and float above the line, or larger and on the line, in the same document (1335, lines 1 and 2).
- (c) the second hasta of Π goes all the way down to the line in 1335 (lines 1 and 7) and 1337, but not in 1334, C74 (=no. 8), or 1346 (=no. 9).
- (d) Σ is always four-bar and open, but its orientation and relationship to the line change even within the same document, and in C6, C74 (=no. 8), and *BE* 1976.345 it has uptilted ends.
- (e) X is mildly tilted in C6, 1334, 1335, and 1337; but apparently not in 1346 (=no. 9) or C74 (=no. 8).
- (f) Ω can be shallow, tilted, and written above the line – or fuller and on the line, in the same document (1337; also 1346=no. 9).^{*} In 1334, this letter is smaller, above the line, and occasionally tilted; in 1335 smaller but on the line; in C74 (=no. 8), this letter is mostly large and on the line, with one example slightly smaller and moderately tilted; in C6 it is extremely pinched-in at the bottom.

* Fraser (1954, 57) was confident that change in this letter-form, with the smaller and tilted form replacing the full on-the-line form, was a good criterion of dating, but their appearance together in the same inscription means that if one replaced the other it did so only over a period of time. This phenomenon of two different forms of the same letter in the same inscription is also noted in the stelai of Hellenistic Achaia, Rizakis 1993, 116.

Even within closely contemporary inscriptions in the same medium the differences seem appreciable: so the two stone inscriptions with the same secretary (C6 and C74=**no. 8**) use differently sized letters, different letter-forms for alpha and omega, and different spacing, C74's being (probably) bigger and more tightly spaced.⁵¹ *SGDI* 1346 (=no. 9) uses the two different techniques of engraving (*poin-tillé* and *repoussé*) at one time, which confuses the comparison with 1334, 1335, and 1337 even more. *SGDI* 1334, 1335, and the votive only use the *repoussé* style, which pushes letters towards being straighter and more regular. So even those dated by the same king and same *prostatas* (1334, 1335, C6), and so probably of the same year, do not look much alike.⁵² In other words, linear dating by letter-form, if rigidly applied (with the introduction of a new form of a letter rendering the older form instantly obsolete), and if applied without taking the medium of the inscription into account, leads only to hopeless confusion.

How, then, to date these seven inscriptions? Four different observations suggest that they should be attributed to the reign of Alexander II (272–242 or a little after), not Alexander I (343/2–331/0). First, Philippe Gauthier noted in 1979 that the word *isopoliteia* does not appear anywhere in Greek epigraphical documents before the third century BC.⁵³ Since *SGDI* 1334 is a grant of *isopoliteia* (and 1337 has been restored as one), it would appear very likely that the king Alexander by whose reign this inscription is, or these inscriptions are, dated must be the king of the third century BC, not the fourth. If it is necessary to keep four of these inscriptions together in the reign of one king (and 1334 is one of the four), then all these four, plus 1337, must move to the third century.

Second, in this odd collection of seven 'King Alexander' inscriptions, *SGDI* 1346 (=no. 9) is the oddest man out: its seemingly irregular, jumpy, right-tilting letter-forms are less similar to those of the other six inscriptions of King Alexander – despite the wealth of their variety – and more similar to those of another manumission not dated by reference to a king, *SGDI* 1347 (=no. 17). Indeed, both the editor of *SGDI* and Nilsson claimed that the two manumissions were inscribed

51 C6 was published without dimensions, letter height, or inventory number; as a consequence it could not be found when I went to Ioannina in April 2007, and these impressions must be based on a comparison of its photograph (Cabanes 1976a, pl. 3) with the actual stone of C74 (=no. 8), where the letter-height is 1.4 cm.

52 In this group of seven inscriptions it is even harder to see much resemblance of the letters to the letters in two manumissions thought to be early in the manumission series (1351=**no. 1**; C68=**no. 3**), which at least have in common the shapes of Σ, Π, Ω, Μ, Φ, and Ε. Cabanes also dates these seven early, but would date 1354 (=no. 2) a little later than C68 (=no. 3).

53 Gauthier 1979, 123, citing Gawantka 1975, 24–7 and 206–19; a search through the PHI database (<http://epigraphy.packhum.org/inscriptions/main>, accessed 17 May 2011) suggests that this continues to be true. The sites with the greatest numbers of decrees granting *isopoliteia* (Delphi, Thermion, Gonnoi) all do so only in the third and second centuries; the surviving treaties establishing a form of *isopoliteia* in the fourth century like *SVA*² 2.232 (Ceos and Eretria, 393–377 BC) do not use the word; the treaties that do use the word date to the third century (*SVA*² 3.495, 555, 562, 579, 585). Only one inscription in the data-base, published too late for Gawantka to have seen it, Spyropoulos 1971 [1974] 237 no. 2 (from Domokos), is dated to the fourth century, but there is no reason or photograph given and I suspect that this dating is simply an error.

by the same hand.⁵⁴ Yet because the second of the two, *SGDI* 1347 (=no. 17), dates by a [strategos of the A]pir[otes], the official who led the Epirote *koinon*, it should be dated after 232 BC.⁵⁵ So if the two were inscribed by the same hand, but with minor differences, this would have to mean that the ‘king Alexander’ of 1346 (=no. 9) should be the king closest in time to the Epirote *koinon*: Alexander II. Even if they are not by the same hand – as I suspect⁵⁶ – then they still are very similar, sharing this odd habit of combining the two methods of engraving, suggesting again that they ought to be close in time.⁵⁷ It is striking, too, that both also use some letter-forms of Y seen in the oracular lamellae, but not on stone or other dated bronze inscriptions: these are the first two metal plaques in which influence from the hands used for the lamellae can be postulated, and it is this influence, not an early date, that gives them their unusual appearance.⁵⁸ Since 1347 (=no. 17) is firmly attached to 232 BC and after by the change in its dating formula, the date of 1346 (=no. 9) must necessarily come down (especially if by the same hand as 1347) into the second third of the third century.⁵⁹

- 54 Same hand, Nilsson (1909, 61 n.1; already asserted by Fick in *SGDI*), and Hammond (1967, 537) agreed; argued against by Franke 1955, 57–60 and Anl. 1.
- 55 Franke 1955, 60, followed by Cabanes 1976a, 456 and 579; Hammond (1967, 537) did not restore a *strategos* and instead claimed it as a document of the ‘Epirote alliance,’ for which no *strategoí* are attested (the war-leader until 232 BC was always the king).
- 56 Upon examining both in the National Museum, I am more inclined to follow Franke and agree that these two plaques were not engraved by the same hand. Both used a combination of *re-poussé* and *pointillé* techniques, but this is not enough to make them by the same hand. In addition to the differences catalogued by Franke 1955, 57–60 and Anl. 1, there are appreciable differences in Σ (last stroke always horizontal and on the baseline in 1347, but not so in 1346); Π (right-tilting and short second hasta in 1346; second hasta almost all the way down to the baseline in 1347); Ω (once large and pointed in 1346, and once tilted and above the line; in 1347, once large and on the line, and once like a curved line a bit above the baseline); Φ (the body of the letter oval in 1346, but triangular in 1347, and tilted in 1347 as well); Y (strong downstroke of the letter is top right to bottom left in 1346, while in 1347 the letter is more centered or the left downstroke is the dominant one); E (the left vertical sometimes has a tail in 1346, not in 1347).
- 57 They share this hybrid technique of lettering with the undated *SGDI* 1341, 1343, and 1344, three grants of various privileges (proxeny and so on) by “the Molossians” (1341 and 1344) and “[the *koino*]n of the Molossians” (1343). Franke (1955, 59) thought the style could have lasted “ten or fifteen, or fifty” years.
- 58 Y with strong right-to-left downstroke is found in several lamellae that Lhôte dates to the fourth or third centuries: 2006 nos. 5, 24, 49, 53, 91, 96, 112, 133, and 129; Y with strong left-to-right downstroke in Lhôte 2006 no. 66, and in *SGDI* 1360 (=no. 5) as well. The Y with right-to-left downstroke of *SGDI* 1346 is also very similar to the Y in a list of men on lead (published with a good facsimile by Lhôte 2004, 114–15) dated 219–190 BC. Y with strong left-to-right downstroke is also found in the undated *SGDI* 1360 and 1367 (which I have placed somewhere between 300 and 250 BC, so these *might* be earlier); Y with strong right-to-left downstroke is also found in *SGDI* 1348 (ca. 242–232, so – on my arguments – later).
- 59 If *SGDI* 1346 (=no. 9) were inscribed only a generation before the creation of the Epirote *koinon*, then 1346’s Sabyrtius could also be the father of Krison, son of Sabyrtius, honored by the *koinon* of the Bylliones at Dodona after 219 (Ma 2008) in C14 – if an Onopernos Kartatos can be the father of a Molossios Kuestios. This is not impossible if ‘ethnics’ are, or have come to be, less about family descent and more about location or self-identification (see below n.100),

Third, the mix of letter-forms that inscriptions dated to the same ‘king Alexander’ exhibit – especially alpha, omega, and pi – suit this century better as well, given what else is known about letter forms from Dodona in other inscriptions that can definitely be dated before or after the reign of king Alexander II (see **CHART 1**). The letter alpha has a straight bar in *SGDI* 1336, securely dated to king Neoptolemus II, son of Alexander I (317–312 and 302–297; see also **FIGURE 8** below), and this straight-barred alpha continues throughout the third and early second centuries on bronze, appearing also in *BE* 1969.347=F425, a dedication of king Pyrrhus (295–272); *SGDI* 1348 (=no. 15), a manumission from the reign of, possibly, king Pyrrhus or king Ptolemaeus, son of Alexander II (ca. 240 or 237–232); and *C34*, *SGDI* 1349 (=no. 22), *SGDI* 1352 (=no. 26), *SGDI* 1350 (=no. 27), and *SGDI* 1338 (a metal plaque in *repoussé* style), all from the time of the Epirote *koinon*. It also continues on stone into the second century (*C16*, *C17*).⁶⁰ But *SGDI* 1368, a bronze victory dedication of Pyrrhus from 279 BC, has an alpha with a curved bar as well, and curved- and broken-barred alphas will become more common under the Epirote *koinon*, as in the stone inscriptions *C14*, *C15*, *C18*,⁶¹ *C75* (=no. 24), *SEG* XXXVIII 457, and *SGDI* 1339, and the metal inscription *C71*. The third century thus appears to be the century in which these two types of alpha first appear together, as the curved- or broken-barred alpha is introduced but the older form of the straight-barred alpha remains very common.

The mix of forms for the letter omega follows the same pattern. In *SGDI* 1336 it is a large and straight letter, and this large and straight letter continues to be seen through the third century and, on stone and sometimes metal, into the second (*C14*, *C16*, *C17*, *C18*, and *C75*). But *SGDI* 1336 at the end of the fourth century also had one smaller curved omega that pinched in toward the bottom, a form also seen on *SGDI* 1368 (Pyrrhus’s dedication of 279 BC), as well as on *C18* and *SGDI* 1338 (from the Epirote *koinon* after 232). The omega of Pyrrhus’s dedication also tilts and floats above the line, and it tilts and floats in *SGDI* 1348 (=no. 15, Pyrrhus or Ptolemaeus) as well. There are therefore at least two major types of omega in the third and second centuries, large and squarely on the line and smaller, sometimes pinched-in, and sometimes tilted above the line, the first a type that lasts particularly on stone, the second a common occurrence on metal, and both eventually joined, during the Epirote *koinon*, by the lunate omega.

The letter pi has a short or medium-length second hasta in the third and second centuries, with this hasta lengthening only in *SGDI* 1348 (=no. 15) and in several

and since the territories of the Onopernoï and Kuestoi are, it would seem, next to each other, see MAP 5.

60 *C16* is illustrated in Dakaris 1971a, pl. 9.1, its letter-forms described in Dakaris 1965 [1967] 60; *C17* is illustrated in Katsikoudis 2005, pl. 6, its letter forms described in Dakaris 1965 [1967] 62 and Katsikoudis 2005, 71. Because *C17* uses the *koinē*, Ma 2008 dates it to shortly before 167 BC.

61 *C14* is illustrated in Dakaris 1971a, pl. 9.1 and Katsikoudis 2005, pl. 5, its letter-forms described in Dakaris 1965 [1967] 59 and Katsikoudis 2005, 46–7; *C15* (curved-bar alpha, small omicron above the line) is illustrated in Katsikoudis 2005, pl. 7, its letter-forms described in Katsikoudis 2005, 66; *C18*, described Dakaris 1968 [1970] 47–8 and 48 n.1, with a photo of a squeeze at pl. 39a; Dakaris 1971a, pl. 40.3 republishes the same photo.

inscriptions of the Epirote *koinon* (*SGDI* 1349=**no. 22**, C14, C75=**no. 24**, *SGDI* 1350=**no. 27**, and *SGDI* 1339), five times in the inscriptions of the Epirote *koinon* also acquiring a little curl (C14, C18, C34, *SGDI* 1352=**no. 26**, and *SGDI* 1339).⁶² The letters upsilon and rho are almost always well-proportioned and (in the case of upsilon) symmetrical; only in two of Pyrrhus's three dedications (*SGDI* 1368 of 279 BC, and the undated *SEG* XXIV.452) are they elongated and narrow. The comparison of the letters alpha, omega, and pi in particular, in inscriptions that bracket the reign of king Alexander II, thus permits these observations: that there is a general but very gradual trajectory of change visible, from large straight letters to smaller, more curved letters; that this change is marked by a lengthy period of letter overlap that characterizes much of the third century and the first half of the second; and that the change to the newer letter-forms is slower on stone and in the *repoussé* style of engraving (where the one surviving example, *SGDI* 1338, maintains older forms of the letters alpha and pi).

If the third century BC is, at Dodona, the century in which new and different forms of the same letter are introduced but exist side-by-side with older forms, perhaps a date in the mid-third century for these 'king Alexander' inscriptions is also, then, preferable to one in the mid-fourth. The letters of these seven inscriptions show the same mixture, both continuity of form with the letters in earlier inscriptions and some of the newer forms of the letters. The letter-form of (straight-barred) alpha in three of them (*SGDI* 1335, C74=**no. 8**, and *BE* 1976.345), and of omega in one (C74),⁶³ is a retention of the older style, also present in the second dedication of king Pyrrhus (of 274 BC), and in stone inscriptions fifty to one hundred years later. Other letters, especially in the bronze inscriptions of king Alexander, are exhibiting some of the changes (omega and omicron shrinking and floating above the line [1334, 1335, 1337, 1346=**no. 9**, *BE* 1976.345]; bars of alpha curving or breaking [1334, 1335, 1337, C6]; second hasta of pi reaching the baseline [1335, 1337], and pinched-in omega [C6]) that are seen in one bronze inscription from ca. 279 BC and one (possibly) from the 230s, inscriptions that bracket the reign of Alexander II. Sigma with ends that curl up (C6, C74=**no. 8**, and *BE* 1976.345), although not seen in securely dated inscriptions from Dodona until the time of the Epirote *koinon* (C18, C34, C75), has dated analogues in dedications of the third-century Macedonian kings.⁶⁴ Because the scaffolding provided by *SGDI* 1336 (Neoptolemus II),

62 C35, found at Passaron (Gardiki, in Molossia) and dated 232–167 BC only on the criterion of letter-forms, also has broken-barred alpha, a mix of large and small omicron and omegas, and pi with a long second hasta (illustrated in Dakaris 1964, pl. Ia).

63 1346 also has a straight-barred (but slanting) alpha, and one large omega (line 3); the other omegas are smaller, tilted, and float above the line. Other manumissions thought to be earlier (1351=**no. 1**, C68=**no. 3**, 1354=**no. 2**) also have straight-barred alpha and large omega, although these inscriptions are placed early in the chronological sequence because of the similarity of their letter-forms, and thus provide no independent evidence. Two other 'early' but undated inscriptions also have mostly straight, large forms, but one alpha in C68 (= **no. 3**, line 1, drawn as straight in Carapanos) also has a curving central bar, and C77 (a donation of the same year) has a somewhat smaller, marginally tilted omega in line 7.

64 On shields dedicated in Macedonia inscribed with the names of Antigonus Gonatas and Demetrius I or II, see Pantermale 2000.

SGDI 1368, *BE* 1969.347, and *SEG* XXIV.452 (all Pyrrhus), *SGDI* 1348 (Pyrrhus or Ptolemaeus), and inscriptions from the Epirote *koinon* suggests that the third century, not the fourth, is the century when letter forms begin to mix – as they also do elsewhere among close northwestern neighbors⁶⁵ – these ‘king Alexander’ inscriptions, with their multitude of mixed forms, fit here much better than they do in the fourth century. The continuation of older forms side-by-side with the introduction of these newer forms is also characteristic of the dynamic of change, and the dates given to these changes, of letter-forms in Macedonia, Achaea, and Crete.⁶⁶

Finally, one last factor tips the scales in favor of dating these inscriptions to the reign of Alexander II rather than Alexander I. Of the seven inscriptions dated by this king, one (*SGDI* 1334) appears to have a hole for posting drawn in the middle of the top edge.⁶⁷ The earliest *securely dated* plaque with what appears to be a hole for posting is *SGDI* 1336 (below **fig. 8**), the grant of privileges – *ateleia* and *enteleia* – dated to king Neoptolemus, son of Alexander (d. 295; already mentioned above).⁶⁸ Of the three metal manumissions thought to be the earliest from Dodona, only one (C68=**no. 3**) has a hole in a corner for posting preserved; the (putatively) earliest (*SGDI* 1351=**no. 1**), virtually complete, has no holes at all, and the other (*SGDI* 1354=**no. 2**) is fragmentary. 1351 was presumably merely deposited in the sanctuary. Where were *SGDI* 1334, *SGDI* 1336, and C68 (= **no. 3**) posted? Votives can be suspended from trees or deposited (or nailed up) within sanctuary buildings,

65 See P. Funke *et al.* 1993, 132 n.5 on the mixture of old and new forms in the inscriptions of northwest Greece (Acarnania in particular) in the third and first half of the second centuries BC. In Epidamnus and Apollonia, further to the northwest, characteristic of the (late) third through first centuries BC are broken-barred alpha and small omicron, Cabanes and Drini 1995, 50–1.

66 In Macedonia, the first curved-bar alpha occurs in the second half of the third century, and change to broken bar occurred during the reign of Philip V, Hatzopoulos 1996, 1:52–3. In Achaea, Rizakis (1993, 115–17) noted that straight-barred alpha lasted until the middle of the second century BC, while curved- and broken-barred alphas appeared already in the second half of third century; that pi with a shorter second hasta was early Hellenistic, but that pi with a long second hasta came “early” into general use; and that the top and bottom bars of sigma were parallel to the baseline from the second century onward. In Cretan treaties, Chaniotis (1996, 452–9) found that curved-barred alpha appeared mid-third century, and that broken-barred alpha appeared at the same time but was common only in the last quarter of that century and after; that lambda with ‘swing’ (his Λ2) was third and second century; that II with curling ends (II2) was third century, while II with second hasta all the way to the baseline appeared in the last quarter of third century; and that pinched-in omega was early third century. For several of the letter-shapes (Α, Π, Ω), the changes noted (e.g., towards curvier forms and ‘swing’) are also noted by Guarducci 1987, 81–2 and dated by McLean 2002, 41 as I date them, or even later (II).

67 The drawing seems to indicate a posting hole in the middle of the top edge; since this plaque no longer survives (and has indeed not been seen since the nineteenth century), I could not verify this.

68 Its date is secure, but its problematic aspects include having its one preserved hole for posting driven from back to front, rather than front to back, of the plaque; this suggests that the hole was made either before the inscription was engraved, or at least was not made as part of the physical process of posting this inscription, and indeed this plaque may not have been posted at all. The bottom left-hand corner, which survives but is folded over on itself and thus drawn as if broken off, has no posting hole.

but most documents are inscribed on free-standing stelai or, when posted, are posted on buildings.⁶⁹ No traces of wooden buildings in fourth-century Dodona have been found,⁷⁰ datable rooftiles in any number are not present before the beginning of the third century,⁷¹ and building in stone before the beginning of the third century was exceedingly modest: a tiny *naiskos* – storage building for votives – to Zeus in the first half of the fourth century, a low temenos wall in the second half of that century, and an Ionic colonnade (open to the east) surrounding the (still tiny) *naiskos* only at the beginning of the third century,⁷² possibly to be associated with the sole reign of Pyrrhus (297–272 BC), who was (probably) a great builder elsewhere on the site as well.⁷³ Other documents, like treaties, were posted in the sanctuary in the third century, probably in the Ionic colonnade.⁷⁴ As a consequence, it is much more likely that an inscribed plaque with a posting hole, like C68 (=no. 3) but also like *SGDI* 1334, would date to the third century rather than the fourth. If that is the case, and if the seven ‘Alexander’ inscriptions (including the two manumissions) should

- 69 The stone documents from Dodona were all inscribed on stelai, not wall-blocks: C1 (grants of *politeia*), C2 (grant of *enteleia* and other honors), C6 (grant of *ateleia*) – presumed to be a stela by Davies 2000, 249, but could not be located in the Ioannina museum collection – and C74 (=no. 8). Shields taken from the Macedonians, on the other hand, were attached (“orphaned,” says Pausanias: i.e., snatched away from their owners?) as votives to the columns of the stoa around the *naiskos* of Zeus, Paus. 1.13.3 and Dakaris 1971a, 43 and 46. See Brulotte 1994 on the posting of votives in general (261, 263–71, on the inside walls of temples (easier when these were mudbrick) and hanging from the interior rafters; 279–81, on hanging from the roof or from the architrave of a temple, nailing to exterior walls and columns of temples, hanging from temple doors; 281–2, in/on stoas; 314–19, hanging from, or nailed to, trees).
- 70 Evangelides (1935, 218) dated two anthemion-fragments “early, in the fifth century;” Dakaris (1971a, 40, with pl. 17.2) dated them to the second half of the fifth century and associated them with the first *naiskos* to Zeus of the early fourth century; Hammond (1967, 488) decided that they must have served a wooden building, although there is no evidence for wood building on the admittedly incompletely excavated site.
- 71 The stamped rooftiles are, so far, all third century and after: *SEG* XXXIII.477 (four inscribed tiles, second century BC); *SEG* XXXV.669 (two tiles, end fourth/beginning third century); *SEG* XXXVI.553 (one tile, ca. 200 BC); Vlachopoulou-Oikonomou 1991 [1994] (fifteen third century BC, ninety-three third-second century; *SEG* XLV.666); *SEG* L.643 (from the *prytaneion* and *bouleuterion*, early second century BC); *SEG* L.545 (from the *prytaneion*); *SEG* LIII.572 (from the stoa west of sanctuary, and from near the *prytaneion*).
- 72 First *naiskos* ca. 400 BC, Dakaris 1971a, 21; low temenos wall, 41; Ionic colonnade, 43–4; see also Voutiras 2004, 241–2; Moustakis 2006, 90–100, 109–15; and Mylonopoulos 2006, 190–7 (who speculates that the *naiskos* might have been a temple).
- 73 Possibly built by Pyrrhus were: the *bouleuterion* beginning third century, Dakaris 1971a, 58; temples to Dionē, Themis, and Heracles late fourth or early third century, Dakaris 1971a, 51–3; *prytaneion*, approximately same dates as *bouleuterion* (early third century), Dakaris 1989 [1992] 176–81. Dieterle (2007, 105–53), summarizing the work of Dakaris and others, is very cautious about direct attributions to Pyrrhus, wishing for more extensive publication of exact archaeological and architectural parallels to the finds, techniques, and lay-out.
- 74 *IG* IX: 1.3 II.13–16, a treaty of the Aetolians with the Acarnanians, makes provision for a copy of a “bronze stela” also to be set up at Dodona: this would most likely be a plaque requiring posting. Pol. 4.67.3 reported that the Aetolians in 219 burned the stoa, destroyed the votives, and overturned the sacred house, which led Dakaris (1971a, 23 and 46) to suggest that the sacred house received particularly harsh treatment because treaties and pacts that the Aetolians found offensive were deposited there.

continue to be associated, this is yet another reason why they should all come down to the reign of Alexander II, in the second third of the third century.

Whether because they grant *isopoliteia*, because their hands straddle the age of the kings and the age of the Epirote *koinon*, because their mix of letter-forms fits well with inscriptions that precede and come after them, or because their physical attributes suggest posting in structures that probably did not exist until the third century, the seven ‘king Alexander’ inscriptions, four of them also internally linked, should not be dated to the fourth century. Rather, they are the work of third-century engravers and stonemasons in the time of Alexander II (272 – ca. 240 BC), as is suggested also by third-century epigraphic parallels elsewhere.⁷⁵ By confirming the changes in letter-forms suggested by other third-century inscriptions and adding seven examples to their number, these seven inscriptions anchor the transition from the age of Pyrrhus to the age of the new Epirote *koinon*.

(ii). The identification of ‘king Alexander’ as king Alexander II, and the arguments that place his inscriptions in the third rather than the fourth century, have implications for some of the other inscriptions that cannot be dated by ‘strong’ criteria. Of the other manumissions dated between the fourth century and 232 BC, Cabanes placed *SGDI* 1351 (=no. 1), C68 (=no. 3), and C70 (=no. 7) specifically in the fourth century. None has a ‘strong’ form of dating, and – in an absence, also, of a discussion of letter forms, although those of 1351 and C68 are straight and large – it seems to be the case that the chief criterion for dating the first two to this century is the historical circumstance presumed to lie behind 1351. Cabanes argued that *SGDI* 1351 dated ca. 330 BC, because – in its unique balance of seven Molossians and seven Thesprotians witnessing the manumission (“loosing”) of a man by or in the *xenikē lusi* – it reflected the new Molossian state, now called ‘Apeiros’ or the ‘Epirote alliance,’ which he argued came into being between 330 and 328.⁷⁶ But these fourteen men were witnesses, not officials: why should witness-ethnics reflect incorporation in any way? Why should witnesses be chosen in proportion to the representation of their tribe in a governing body? Indeed, witnesses are not necessarily ‘citizens’ at all, especially at an international sanctuary like Dodona.⁷⁷ *SGDI* 1351 only seems to reflect witnessing by separate groups, who come together over this one matter but otherwise may hold themselves apart.

The second of Cabanes’s fourth-century manumission inscriptions, C68 (=no. 3), has letter forms – straight-barred alphas, large omegas on the line, pi with a short second hasta – that have a basic similarity with those of 1351 (=no. 1), but otherwise the inscription seems to be associated with it only because it too refers to

⁷⁵ See above nn.36 and 65–6.

⁷⁶ Cabanes 1976a, 177–9; 1997, 102–3 (by including the Thesprotians, the Molossians demonstrated *leur bonne volonté*, thus creating *une égalité de façade*); 2004, 36–7 (*un geste aimable*).

⁷⁷ As in, e.g., *IG IX.1.66* (Daulis), where two witnesses are Daulian but the third is Tithorean; or at Delphi, where ‘foreign’ manumittors often brought their own witnesses (e.g., *SGDI* 2172). Moreover, three of the four Thesprotian *ethnē* of the witness-list of 1351 are *not* seen in Dodonan inscriptions again – Larisaïos, Tiaïos, Eleaios (although Hammond (1967, 564) wished to restore Larisaïos in C3) – and of the other witnesses, one is merely a simple name and one has only a patronym.

the *lusis xenikē*. The *prostatas* of this inscription, Thrason Kelaithos, appears also in *SGDI* 1365=C77, a donation of land to Dionē, also assumed to be of the fourth century. Were one to deduce any tendencies in letter forms in these two inscriptions, however, one might attach some significance to the occasional inclination of the ends of letters to curve either upwards or downwards (C68=no. 3: Π, line 5 right; P, line 6 left; C77: A, line 4; Π, line 8) and date 300–250 rather than earlier, since this tendency to curl, like the tendency to float and tilt (C68 also has a tilting E, line 11, and C77 a tilting Ω, line 7), seems to be a third-century phenomenon.⁷⁸ C77 also has holes for the posting of the inscription, as does (as already mentioned) C68 (=no. 3). For C77, these holes are in the top lefthand corner and halfway down each side of the plaque. These holes on the two sides of C77 make clear that this plaque must have been posted, and so, by the argument already made above, is more likely to be third century rather than fourth, taking C68 along with it. The links between these three inscriptions (1351=no. 1, C68=no. 3, C77) – of a type of legal act in the first two, of a shared *prostatas* in the second two, and (apparently) basic letter forms in all three – argue for some association, but only one of them (the shared *prostatas*) chronologically tight. In other words, they group well together, but in a time frame encompassing the third century on which no boundaries can easily be put. *SGDI* 1354 (=no. 2), also likely a *xenikē lusis* inscription, and 1355 (=no. 6, a fragment, possibly not a manumission) group well with them too, having large, straight letters (including Ω and A), straight-barred alpha, and pi with short second hasta; 1354 also has an Ω whose ends curl up. I have grouped another *xenikē lusis* inscription, *SGDI* 1360 (=no. 5), with these as well: the letter-forms do not rule it out, and the only reason for placing it in the second century seems to have been the (now long outdated) assumption that 1351 (=no. 1) belonged there as well.⁷⁹ 1360 was accidentally left behind in the second century after 1351 was moved back to the fourth. By letter-forms, one last document also fits well with these, and especially with C68 (=no. 3) and C77: *SGDI* 1356 (=no. 4). This copper tablet, broken down the middle, has straight, large letters, straight-barred alpha, pi with short second hasta, mostly medium and large omicrons, and large omega on the line. It is unusual in two ways, however: it records the purchase (for one *mina* of silver) of a slave in front of four witnesses; and it is dated only by naiarch and *prosstatas*. Because of this dating formula, Cabanes dated this inscription after 168 BC, assuming that the document was dated by naiarch and *prosstatas* because there were no kings or *strategoi* to date with.⁸⁰ This could be; but omissions of king, *strategoi*, or other officials in dating formulae at Dodona are quite common,⁸¹ and this argument is therefore not very compelling. The naiarch should, however, date the inscription sometime after the beginning of the third century and the institution of the Naia, games in honor of

78 See above pp. 32, 31 on curling ends in sigmas and floating and tilting omega.

79 This was where *IJG* had placed 1351 and 1360; no explicit argument for dating 1360 was ever made, and it uses no dating formula.

80 Cabanes 1976a, 336 and 454–5, although he is also troubled by the use of the digamma in this inscription as well.

81 So, for example, all inscriptions before 232 BC should have had a king in the dating formula, but many do not. Cross (1932, 109–14) once thought this significant, but this is merely an aspect of the non-uniform dating practices of Dodonan inscriptions.

Zeus Naos.⁸² So this inscription is either an extreme example of older letter-forms lasting (perhaps close to two centuries) on bronze alongside newer ones, or an example of an unusual dating-formula found in a context where a ‘standard’ dating formula has not yet been established. The latter option – simply an unusual dating formula – seems simply more likely to me, and I therefore group this inscription with the other ‘early’ ones, between 350 and 250 BC, but in the second half of that time frame because of the presence of the naiarch.

The last manumission thought to be from the fourth century, C70 (=no. 7), was dated to this century by its original editor, Evangelides, “by the form of the letters.”⁸³ In addition, Hammond argued that the three witnesses – a Horraitas, a Dodonaïos, and an Argeios – were from *ethnē* or settlements that were included in the Molossian kingdom only after 340 BC.⁸⁴ Hammond’s historical argument about the witnesses in C70 could be correct (although, again, witnesses do not necessarily attest to the incorporation of their communities) – but even so it would supply only a date *after* which, not a date *at* which, the manumission was undertaken. So even by his argument C70 could have been engraved any time *after* 340. The ends of some of its letters (K, line 3; A and E, line 4) curl, and Ω exists as both a large (line 5) and a small (line 6) letter, on and off the line respectively, which associates the plaque more with C68 and C77, that is, probably 300–250 BC, rather than 340.

II. 2. SUMMARY

‘Strong’ dating criteria, particularly the names of kings, must naturally be given precedence. Yet because these names are not always used in dating formulae, because kings can share the same name, and because the names of kings often do not include a patronym, other methods of dating, ‘weak’ methods, must also be used. To the extent that letter forms can offer any dating criteria, inscriptions from Dodona that I date the earliest, between ca. 350 and 250 BC (*SGDI* 1351=no. 1, 1354=no. 2, and 1336), have letters that are uniformly straight and large: their ends do not curl, alphas are straight-barred, omegas and omicrons are large and mostly on the line. After 300 BC, these forms continue side-by-side with new forms of the same letters: the bottom of omega can be pinched in, and by late in the reign of Pyrrhus (279–272) the bar of the alpha can start to curve and omegas can diminish in size and drift upwards, on bronze in particular. With the reign of Alexander II, these changes accelerate, including two ways of inscribing on a single bronze plaque; letters that tilt and/or whose ends curl; alphas whose bars curve and break; omegas that are large and on the line but also small, tilted, and above the line, in the same document; and pi with a second hasta that reaches (almost to) the baseline. Between 242 and 232, there is the first lunate sigma (*SGDI* 1353=no. 14). What the thirty-

82 Dakaris (1971a, 90) thought that “presumably” the Naia was established during the reign of Pyrrhus; Cabanes (1988b, 53) merely notes that there is no evidence of the Naia festival before the third century; Quantin (2008, 33–9) thinks a fourth-century origin possible.

83 Evangelides 1935, 248.

84 Hammond 1967, 540.

seven inscriptions now dated before 232⁸⁵ especially show, however, is that the inscribing of documents is not at Dodona a well-established habit: dating formulae are used – or not;⁸⁶ dating formulae share some elements, but not all and not in predictable ways, and show no clear tendency over time to become more uniform; contemporary letter forms, especially in the third century (I have argued), can vary significantly. Thus although it is possible to imagine that Dodona was a sanctuary clad in numerous bronze documents, both public and private, before its destruction by the Aetolians in 219, it seems more likely that the Molossians were only coming to habits of inscribing even in the third century, and did not employ them often enough to settle into clear-cut patterns and forms.

CHART 1 is a grid presentation of the changes in letter forms between 370 and 232, with the letter-forms from some of the inscriptions from the (post-232) Epirote *koinon* also included.

CHART 2 is a summary of (1) Cabanes's dating (which represents the current scholarly consensus), and (2) the new dating I give to the same inscriptions; the chart also includes inscriptions he did not date, and lists as well the less problematic inscriptions of the *koinon* that have been mentioned as comparisons.

85 Sixteen manumissions (**nos. 1–16**) and twenty-one other inscriptions: C1, *SGDI* 1336, C3, *SGDI* 1366, C77, *SGDI* 1367, *SGDI* 1368, *SGDI* 1340, *BE* 1969.347=F425, *SEG* XXIV.452, *SGDI* 1341, *BE* 1976.345, C2, C6, *SGDI* 1334, *SGDI* 1335, *SGDI* 1337, *SGDI* 1345, Carapanos 1878a, pl. XXXIII.9, *SGDI* 1343, and *SGDI* 1344.

86 Complete but without any indication of date: the manumissions C70 (=no. 7) and *SGDI* 1359+1362 (=no. 10). If *SGDI* 1360 (=no. 5) had a date, it was at the end (not preserved) rather than the beginning.

Chart 1

	C1	1351	1336	C3	1354	1366	C68	C77	1356	1360	1367	1355	IG DP 1-4, 1790	1368	C70	1340
A^1																
A^2																
Γ																
Δ																
E																
K																
Λ																
M																
Ξ																
Π^1																
Π^2																
P																
Σ^1																
Σ^2																
Σ^3																
Υ																
Φ^1																
Φ^2																
X																
Ω^1																
Ω^2																

	BE 1979, 347	SEG 24.452	1341	BE 1976, 345	C2	C74	C6	1334	1335	1337	1346	1359+ 1362
A ¹			A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
A ²					A		A			A		A
Γ					Γ			Γ	Γ		Γ	Γ
Δ			Δ			Δ	Δ	Δ	Δ	Δ	Δ	Δ
E	E		E		E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E
K			K		K	K		k	K			K
Λ			Λ		Λ			Λ	Λ	Λ	Λ	Λ
M			M		M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M
Ξ			Ξ		Ξ	Ξ		Ξ	Ξ	Ξ	Ξ	
Π ¹			Π		Π	Π		Π	Π	Π	Π	Π
Π ²									Π		Π	
P		P	P		P	P		P	P			P
Σ ¹			Σ	Σ	Σ	Σ	Σ	Σ	Σ	Σ	Σ	Σ
Σ ²										Σ		Σ
Σ ³												
Υ	Υ	Υ	Υ	Υ	Υ	Υ	Υ	Υ	Υ		Υ	Υ
Φ ¹			Φ		Φ	Φ		Φ	Φ			Φ
Φ ²												
X							X	X	x	X	X	X
Ω ¹			Ω		Ω	Ω	Ω	Ω	Ω	Ω	Ω	Ω
Ω ²			Ω		Ω	Ω		Ω	Ω	Ω	Ω	Ω

	1363	1345	1353	XXX III.9	1343	1344	1348	1361	1347	1342	Lhôte	C14	C18	C34	C75	1338	1339
A ¹																	
A ²																	
Γ																	
Δ																	
E																	
K																	
Λ																	
M																	
Ξ																	
Π ¹																	
Π ²																	
P																	
Σ ¹																	
Σ ²																	
Σ ³																	
Υ																	
Φ ¹																	
Φ ²																	
X																	
Ω ¹																	
Ω ²																	

This chart was made by Lydia Gaitanou and Philip Kiernan. It lifts images of letters from scanned drawings and photographs; the sources of these illustrations are noted in the Epigraphical Appendix (for the manumissions), the list of figures for this book, and in notes 60–1.

Chart 2

	(1) CABANES:		(2) MY DATING:	
	manumissions	other inscriptions	manumissions	other inscriptions
<u>(fourth century)</u>	C68 C70	C1 (370-368) C77 (donation)		C1 (370-368)
<u>(350-300)</u>		[C2]	1351	
<u>(Alexander I. 344-332/1)</u>	1346 C74	C6, 1334, 1335 1337		
<u>(330/328)</u>	1351	[C3] 1341 1343 1344 [1340 (<i>not</i> Pyrrhus)]	or: 1351	
<u>(end fourth century)</u>				
<u>(300-250) early</u>		1336 (Neoptolemus)		1336 (Neoptolemus) [C3] (Neoptolemus)
	1354 1355 (perhaps not a manumission)		1354	1366 [not in C] IG IX ² 1.4.1750 C77 (donation)
	1361		C68 1356 1360	1367 [not in C]
		1368=F603 (Pyrrhus, 279 BC)	1355 (perhaps not a manumission)	1368=F603 (Pyrrhus, 279 BC)
			C70	[1340 (Pyrrhus), 278-276 BC] BE 1969.347= F425 (Pyrrhus, 274 BC) SEG XXIV.452=

<u>(Alexander II, 272-ca. 242)</u>			1348?	F606 (Pyrrhus)
				1341 BE 1976.345 [C2]
			C74	C6, 1334, 1335 1337
<u>(after Alexander II)</u>	1359+1362 C72 (perhaps not a manumission) C73 1363		1346 1359+1362 C72 (perhaps not a manumission) C73 1363	
	1353		1353	1345 [not in C] Car. XXXIII.9 [not in C] 1343 1344
<u>Ptolemaios, son of Alexander</u>	1348		?1348	
<u>after 232</u>	1347		1361 1347	1342 [not in C.] Lhôte 2004 C14 (Krison, son of Sabyrtios) C15 C16 C17 C34 (ca. 205 BC)
	C69	C14 (Krison, son of Sabyrtios) C15 C16 C17 C34 (ca. 205)	C69 Dakaris 1967 [1969] 48 no. 1	
<u>(second century)</u>	1360 1357 1358 1349 C75	C18 (before 192)	1357 1358 1349 C71 C75	C18 (before 192)

<p><u>(second century after 168)</u></p> <p>130/129</p> <p>(Augustan)</p>	<p>C76</p> <p>1352</p> <p>1350 (175/168)</p> <p>1356</p> <p>C71</p>		<p>C76</p> <p>1352</p> <p>1350 (175/168)</p>	<p>1338</p> <p>1339 (by ca. 170)</p> <p>Tziaphalias and Helly 2007</p> <p>C28 (for Livia)</p>
---------------------------------------------------------------------------	---------------------------------------------------------------------	--	----------------------------------------------	-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Entries placed on the same line are dated to the same year; those in bold in my columns were dated to the fourth century by Cabanes; those in brackets will (or will also) be discussed below in section III. In my 'manumissions' column the inscriptions have been listed in the order they appear in the Epigraphic Appendix, so these Appendix numbers have been omitted.

One consequence of this redating for the manumission inscriptions is that of the (postulated) earliest six, four that are characterized by straight, ‘early’ letter-forms (1351=**no. 1**, 1354=**no. 2**, C68=**no. 3**, and 1360=**no. 5**) are also of a specific type, ‘loosings’ in or by the *xenikē lysis*. Of these earliest six, five use the *prostatas* in the dating formula (1351=**no. 1**, 1354=**no. 2**, C68=**no. 3**, 1356=**no. 4**, and 1355=**no. 6**), but only one of these five (1356=**no. 4**) specifies that he is the *prostatas* of the Molossians; when the *prostatas* is subsequently used in the dating formula of manumissions in the third and second centuries, he is always specified as *prostatas* “of the Molossians,” although in five instances the phrase must be restored.⁸⁷ On the available evidence this way of identifying the *prostatas* in the dating of manumissions therefore seems to begin in the third century.⁸⁸ Moreover, as the charts also intimate, Cabanes has placed all the politically significant inscriptions (not just C1, but also C2 and C3, as well as eight other grants of privileges) in the fourth century as well. But if the deductions about letter-forms that prompt the redating of the inscriptions of ‘king Alexander’ are valid, they also affect the dating of C2 and C3 and of the other grants of privilege: these too (as will be shown) must move to the third century, and the understanding of these inscriptions changes. The political (and other) implications of the redating are the subject of (III), in the course of which C2 and C3 will be reedited, redated, and reinterpreted. This analysis will permit a narrative account (IV), in which a history of Molossia in the fourth and third centuries with a different focus is proposed.

87 The phrase appears in C74 (=no. 8), 1346 (=no. 9), 1353 (=no. 14, restored), 1348 (=no. 15, but in only one of the possible restorations), 1347 (=no. 17, restored), 1357 (=no. 20, restored), 1358 (=no. 21), C75 (=no. 24), C76 (=no. 25, restored), 1352 (=no. 26), and 1350 (=no. 27). 1355 (=no. 6) is very fragmentary, and therefore may have used “of the Molossians.” The other manumissions are either desperately fragmentary or, in four cases, do not date by *prostatas* at all (C70=no. 7), 1359+1362 (=no. 10), 1349 (=no. 22), and C71 (=no. 23). The very latest decree of the Molossians known, from 130/129 BC, again uses *prostatas* without the addition of “of the Molossians” – but this may be a consequence of a Thessalian redaction of the decree’s heading, *SEG* LVII.510= Tziafalias and Helly 2007, 424 l.58 with 456–7.

88 “*Prostatas* of the Molossians” also appears in the two fourth-century grants of *politeia* (C1), but see below n.92.

III. SEVEN POINTS OF DIFFERENCE

The standard and accepted view divides the constitutional history of Molossia into three phases: that of the *koinon* of the Molossians (ca. 400–330/28 BC), the ‘Epirote Alliance’ or ‘Symmachy’ (328–232 BC), and the Epirote *koinon* (232–167 BC). The construction and dating of each phase has depended on the (standard, heavily fourth-century) dating and the (standard, heavily political) interpretation of inscriptions, particularly the three major inscriptions republished by Cabanes as C1, C2, and C3. Around the interpretation of these inscriptions other observations or deductions about the history of Dodona and Molossia have entwined themselves, and it is the disentangling of this thicket of presumed associations, and a concomitant reassessment of the interpretations, that is the aim here. Above all, it is the judgment that Molossian internal and external history must be the story of a two-hundred-year-old federal *koinon* that will be questioned here. Seven arguments, each building on the other, have contributed to Molossia’s supposed history as a federal state, and each of these will be re-examined in what follows: the nature of the Molossian ‘state’ in the fourth century; (alleged) Molossian expansion in the fourth century; the new ‘state’ supposedly founded in 330–328; the ‘Epirote Alliance’ and the ‘Molossian *koinon*’ at the end of the fourth century; the Molossians in the third century; the hypothesized expansion of the Molossian *koinon* in the third century; and the relationship of Molossia with its two western neighbors, Thesprotia and Chaonia, in the third century. In each case I propose an interpretation different from the now-standard understanding.

III.1. MOLOSSIAN ‘STATE’ AND MOLOSSIAN KINGS IN THE FOURTH CENTURY

It has been thought, for fifty years, that the Molossians were among the earliest creators of a federal state with federal governance (a true federal *koinon*) that somehow existed – unlike elsewhere – along with, but as a counterweight to or check on, their ancestral monarchy.⁸⁹ Yet was there in fact in Molossia a federal *koinon*, and was it capable of counterbalancing or restraining a king? If the redatings of

89 See Larsen 1968, xiv for his distinctions between “confederacy” (commonwealth, true federal state and government), “league” (looser organization, mostly *summachiae*), and “amphictyony” (“in which the emphasis is on religion and the maintenance of cults”) – each of which can be called a *koinon*. He does note (1968, xxviii) that in confederacies foreign affairs and diplomacy were primarily the tasks of the federal government, which (given the activities of the Molossian kings) already weakens the claim that Molossia was a true confederation. As Giovannini (1971, 81, 88–90) pointed out, the Greek categories were *poleis* and *ethnē*, and the word *koinon* does not characterize a particular type of state; see also Hatzopoulos 1994a, 163 and 1996, 1:321; and Davies 2000, 253 and n.55; yet Cabanes (e.g., 2007, 232) had no doubt that *koina* had to refer to *états fédéraux*.

(II) are correct, then (among their many other consequences) there is no secure or direct evidence for the existence of an entity (however defined) called a “*koinon* of the Molossians” in the fourth century. The institution or phrase “the *koinon* of the Molossians” itself appears only in *SGDI* 1334 and 1337 (time of king Alexander II: see above); in C2 (of disputable date but I argue Alexander II, see below); and in *SGDI* 1343 (entirely restored, on the basis of C2). If ‘king Alexander’ in all his inscriptions is actually Alexander II, as argued above, then all of the direct ‘dated’ epigraphical evidence for the *koinon* moves later in time by a century, and the *koinon*’s first explicit appearance is not until sometime after 272 BC. Moreover, the phrase “the Molossians” is used, in ‘dated’ inscriptions, only in C6 (‘king Alexander,’ i.e. Alexander II) and *SGDI* 1370 (king Pyrrhus), and alone is insufficient attestation of a federal *koinon* anyway.⁹⁰ Because so many inscriptions must come down in date, neither way of (directly or apparently) signifying a “*koinon* of the Molossians” appears before the end of the fourth century.

The nature of the Molossian ‘state’ in the fourth century must then be extrapolated from coins (which only read “of the Molossians” and therefore contribute nothing to understanding what sort of ‘state’ issued them)⁹¹ and the one inscription (C1) whose contents (recording two grants) can be securely dated to the fourth century – which, however, does not mention the word *koinon* or use “the Molossians” as the subject of any sentence, and may be a version inscribed as much as one hundred or one hundred and twenty years after the grants themselves were bestowed.⁹²

90 The deduction, that *ethnos* (“the Molossians”) equals federal *koinon*, is valid – but even so not necessary – only when [ethnic] and “*koinon*” (“people X” and “the *koinon* of people X”) exist in alternation with each other in contemporary inscriptions; this is quite standard in the group terminology, e.g., of Arcadia (Franke 1955, 33). The phrase “the Molossians” in inscriptions without preserved dating formulae is used in C3, to be dated (I will argue; see below pp. 79–81) to the sole reign of Neoptolemus, son of Alexander, thus at the earliest to 317 and at the latest to 297 BC; in *SGDI* 1340 (to be dated to Pyrrhus; see below n.261); and in *SGDI* 1341 and *SGDI* 1344 (both undated and undatable).

91 For ethnic coin-legends not necessarily giving proof of a federal organization, Psoma and Tsangari 2003, 112–15; and see Nielsen 2002, 121–52 for a reinterpretation of fifth-century AP-KAΔIKΩN coinage as not that of a political confederacy, but of a religious association. Coin legends in the northwest with simple genitive plurals can stand in for a variety of types of ‘state’: ΕΛΕΑΤΑΝ (the colony of Elea, Franke 1961, 45; or the *ethnos* ‘Elaioi,’ Davies 2000, 244); ΦΟΙΝΙΚΑΙΕΩΝ (the city of Phoenikē, Franke 1961, 114–15); and ΑΘΑΜΑΝΩΝ (the *ethnos* of the Athamanes, Franke 1961, 15–26). Franke (1961, 15–17) called the Athamanes a *Stamm* but attributed the minting to a *koinon* – even though the minting began while the Athamanes had very active and prominent kings and before their *koinon* is attested.

92 Peculiarities of this stone suggest that it is a reinscription of two earlier documents. There are differences in orthography between the two inscribed acts: “descendants” is spelled two different ways (ἐγγόνους [1.6], ἐγγόνους [2.24]); one of the names is spelled differently in the two inscriptions (Εἰδύμια [1.7] and Εἰδύμια [2.25]); the digamma sound in one of the ethnics is represented differently in the two inscriptions (Γεν<ο>αίων [1.15] and Γεν<φ>αίων [2.31]), and the genitive plural of the ethnic is spelled differently in one case (Τριπολιτῶν [1.12] and Τριπολιτῶν [2.29]). But *contra* Evangelides 1956 [1959], 4 and Hammond 1967, 524 n.2, these differences do not prove that the two “were cut by different masons” (the summation of Davies 2000, 246), since (upon autopsy) the inscribing hand for both is the same (so too Hoffmann 2001, 403); rather, the two were originally written by different scribes but then reinscribed,

The stone (C1), two separate acts inscribed in sequence, reads:

	Ἀγαθαὶ τύχαι. βασι-
	λεύοντος Νεοπτολέμου
	τοῦ Ἀλκέτα, Φιλίσται τῇ Ἀντι-
5	μάχου γυναικὶ ἐξ Ἀρρώνου
	ἐδόθη πολιτεία, αὐτῇ
	καὶ ἐγγόνοις, ἐπὶ προστάτα
	Μολοσσῶν Εἰδύμμα
	Ἀρκτᾶνος, γραμματέος
10	Ἀμφικορίου Ἀρκτᾶνος, δα-
	μιουργῶν Ἀνδροκάδεος
	Ἀρκτᾶνος Εὐρυμεναίων,
	Λαφύργα Τριπολιτᾶν,
	Εὐστράτου Κελαίθων,
15	Ἀμυνάνδρου Πειάλων,
	Σάβωνος Γεν<ο>αίων, Δείνων
	Ἐθνεστών, Ἀγέλαος Τριφυλ-
	ᾶν, Θοῖνος Ὀμφάλων, Κάρτομος
	Ὀνοπέρων, Δαμοίτας Ἀμύ-
	μων. Δατυίου. <i>vacat.</i>
20	Ἀγαθαὶ τύχαι. βασιλεύον-
	τος Νεοπτολέμου τοῦ Ἀλκ-
	έτα, τῇ Φιντοῦς γενεᾷ ἐξ Ἀρ-
	ρώνου ἐδόθη πολιτεία, αὐτῇ
	καὶ ἐγγόνοις, ἐπὶ προστάτα
25	Μολοσσῶν Εἰδύμα Ἀρκτᾶνος,
	γραμματέος Ἀμφικορίου Ἀρκτ-
	ᾶνος, δαμιουργῶν Ἀνδροκάδεο-

with their differing orthographies, by the same hand. In addition, three ‘late’ forms of letters appear: a broken-barred alpha in the first inscription (1.3), and an omega without a left hasta (2.29) and a lunate sigma (2.31) in the second. These details, and the single use of these letters in particular, make me suspect that C1 is a *later* inscription of two earlier grants. Because the letter-forms of stone inscriptions are more conservative, the generally large and straight letters of C1 would not be out of place even during the reign of Alexander II, which is where I would date the re-inscription (see also below pp. 85–6). The contents may have been mildly adjusted as well: *prostatas* “of the Molossians” is used, which otherwise I suspect is mostly a new specification in the third century (see above n.87); C1 (inscription 1) is the only document before 232 BC to specify a month of the year (Daux, 1956), for months appear otherwise *only* in the documents that, when securely dated, are dated to the *koinon* of the Epirotes (the first is C34, dated to 205 BC); and among the undated manumissions, *SGDI* 1358 (=no. 21; with lunate letters and *prostatas* of the Molossians) and C71 (=no. 23; with lunate letters and an agonothete) are (I think) the two earliest to name a month and also (I think) belong to the time of the Epirote *koinon*. The use of the language of γενεᾷ . . . καὶ ἐγγόνοις [2.22–24] together in the context of the family receiving the privilege is also a peculiarity (see below n.246).

30

ς Ἀρκτᾶνος Εὐρυμεναίων, Λαφ-
 ὕργα Τριπολιτῶν, Εὐστράτου
 Κελαίθων, Ἀμυνάνδρου Πει-
 ᾶλων, Σάβων Γενφαίων, Δεΐν-
 ὠν. *vacat.*

3–4 [[Φύλίσται τῷ Ἀντιμύχων]] in *rasura* Evangelides 1956 [1959], 2, all others think stone is merely rough here; 15 ΓΕΝΙΘΑΙΩΝ stone, ΓΕΝΘΑΙΩΝ Evangelides 1956 [1959], 4 (i.e., in his diplomatic transcription he printed a gamma with a tiny suspended omicron underneath it), ΓΕΝΦΑΙΩΝ Daux 1956, 434; corrected to ΓΕΝ<O>ΑΙΩΝ Kontorini 1987, 614; 16 ΕΟΝΕΣΤΩΝ stone, Ε<Θ>ΝΕΣΤΩΝ Evangelides 1956 [1959], 3, ΕΘΝΕΣΤΩΝ Franke 1961, 286; 22 τῷ omitted Evangelides 1956 [1959], 3 added Larsen 1964, 106; 27 [ᾶ]νος Evangelides 1956 [1959], 3 ᾶνος Cabanes 1976a, 535; 28 [ς] Evangelides 1956 [1959], 3, ς Cabanes 1976a, 535.

“With good fortune. Neoptolemus, (son) of Alketas, was king. Citizenship was given to Philista, the wife of Antimachos, from Arrhonos [a location], to her and (her) descendants, when Eidymmas the Arktan was *prostatas* of the Molossians, (when) Amphikoreus the Arktan was secretary, (when) Androkadas the Arktan of the Eurymenaios, Laphyrgas of the Tripolitai, Eustratos of the Kelaithoi, Amynandros of the Peiales, Sabon of the Gen<o>aios, Deinon of the Ethnestoi, Agelaos of the Triphylai, Thoinos of the Omphales, Kartomos of the Onopernoi, Damoitias of the Amymnoi were *damiorgoi*. (In the month) of Datuios.

“With good fortune. Neoptolemus, (son) of Alketas, was king. Citizenship was given to the offspring of Phinto, from Arrhonos, to her and (her) descendants, when Eidymmas the Arktan was *prostatas* of the Molossians, (when) Amphikoreus the Arktan was secretary, (when) Androkadas the Arktan of the Eurymenaios, Laphyrgas of the Tripolitai, Eustratos of the Kelaithoi, Amynandros of the Peiales, Sabon of the Genwaioi, Deinon were *damiorgoi*.”

On this stone stele with its two acts, found near the west wall of the *naiskos*, close to the heart – the sacred oak – of the sanctuary of Zeus at Dodona,⁹³ *politeia* “was given” (ἐδόθη) twice, both times to women and their offspring,⁹⁴ in the passive voice with no agent specified.⁹⁵ In both cases the dating formula includes the king (in a genitive absolute construction), the *prostatas* of the Molossians, a secretary, and *damiorgoi* (with ethnics), all in the ἐπί-plus-genitive construction.⁹⁶ There is no

93 Find-spot: Evangelides 1956 [1959], 1; Kontorini 1987, 612.

94 Thus argued by Harvey 1969, effectively bringing an end to a debate begun by Larsen 1964 (reiterated 1967), who had proposed that τῷ Φιντοῦς γενεᾷ ἐξ Ἀρρόνου ἐδόθη πολιτεία, αὐτῇ καὶ ἐγγόνις meant “to the wife of Phintas, from Arrhonos . . . to her and her descendants” (1964, 106 and 1967, 256), an interpretation heartily disputed by Daux 1964 and J. and L. Robert, *BE* 1965.228. Harvey (1969, 227), whose translation of 2.22–24 is followed here, explains the difference in phrasing in the second grant as intending an emphasis on offspring because the husband was dead.

95 Giovannini (1971, 70) and S. Funke (2000a, 129–30) assumed that the *ekklesia* of the Molossians (attested in *SGDI* 1335, dated to “king Alexander”) made the grants; Davies (2000, 254) thinks it possible that a small “body of representatives or royal counsellors” took this decision.

96 In both inscriptions the scribe or inscriber forgets he is in a genitive construction and starts to list names in the nominative, at 1.15 and 2.31. The second list also ended after the sixth *damiorgos*, whose ethnic was not given although there was still room on the stone (which makes it, *contra* Hammond 1967, 525, less likely that this inscription was continued on another stone). The line between the two inscriptions is clearly visible on the stone.

way of establishing with certainty what these *damiorgoi* actually did,⁹⁷ or indeed (given the passive voice) who the entity bestowing the privilege was.⁹⁸ That each of the ten *damiorgoi* has a different ethnic, with some of these ethnics attributed (in other sources) to a non-Molossian tribe (like the Thesprotians), has prompted the conclusion that they were each “representatives” of a tribe⁹⁹ or an area within the newly expanded, politically inclusive Molossia;¹⁰⁰ that these representatives, over time always from the same constituencies and listed in the same order,¹⁰¹ took turns through the leadership posts of *prostatas* and *grammateus* (who always shared an ethnic and thus came from the same tribe);¹⁰² and therefore that with this inscrip-

- 97 Responsibilities of early *damiorgoi* elsewhere include ruling ‘regally’ in place of the king; giving their name to the year; judicial duties in case of damage to temple paraphernalia; oversight of behavior of individuals in a sacred area (including color of garments worn by women in religious rites, and fining those who do not make the proper sacrifice); oversight of income from public land used to support public cults; supervision of a community; oath-swearing (and choosing jurors, making land-allotments); and as a general college of magistrates acting as guarantors, all Murakawa 1957, 389–94, Veligianni-Terzi 1977, 4–62, 163, and Pritchett 1996, 37–8.
- 98 Cabanes (2001, 374) insists that a federal Molossian *koinon* existed even though the acts did not use the term and were couched in the passive voice. The gift of *politeia* itself does not betoken a federal state either – by Larsen’s definition (1968, xv), in a federal state “there is a local citizenship in the smaller communities as well as a joint or federal citizenship,” but there is no way of determining which was the case here.
- 99 The ethnics represent constituencies, the “tribes” sending “representatives” to the “council:” Hammond 1967, 529–30, 538; Larsen 1968, 275; Giovannini 1971, 69; assumed by Cabanes 1985, 349–50 and 2001, 376 (who then uses this equivalence to rule out the possibility of federal *koina* in Illyria, 379–81).
- 100 Areas rather than tribes: Hatzopoulos 2006, 69, “neither [specific] villages nor cities but *ethnē*” which (1996, 1:103) are *not* “groups united by parentage or descent” but share an area; *contra* Giovannini 1971, 94 and Hammond 2000, but Hammond himself renounced his own opinion, *SEG* L.560; Hatzopoulos (1996, 1:77–104) sees a parallel with Macedonia, where (103) *ethnē* were “organised not on a ‘gentilic’ but on a local, geographical basis.” This geographical quality of ‘ethnics’ may also be suggested by some obviously geographical ethnics like (the later) Ὀππαῖται, and by the way in which patronyms become more common – more necessary? – over time (especially after 232 BC) without displacing ethnics; in witness-lists to manumission, this starts with *SGDI* 1347 (=no. 17); see also *SGDI* 1349 (=no. 22), C71 (=no. 23), C75 (=no. 24), C76 (=no. 25), *SGDI* 1350 (=no. 27). If these ethnics designate artificially constructed ‘constituencies,’ their creation is perhaps to be attributed to Tharyps, Davies 2000, 256; for the possibility that ethnics *become* geographical over time, see below pp. 87–8, 91.
- 101 No more than one representative per tribe, Cabanes 1976a, 120–2 and 165; the point was “. . . assuring equal participation to each ethnic group” (Cabanes 1976a, 122; also 167–8). C2 and C3, the only other inscriptions with similar lists, have been restored when possible *on* this assumption, i.e. that no ethnic in the list of men repeats and that the list should run in approximately the same order (see Hammond 1967, 528–30, 564–5). But such restoration (esp. of C2, which lacks a good number of ethnics) makes the argument circular and the ‘order’ is not followed by (the also incomplete) C3; so it is unwise to rely on this ‘fact’ (as does, most recently, Davies 2000, 255).
- 102 Both inscriptions of C1 have two Arktan magistrates, one the *prostatas*, one the secretary; shared ethnics of *prostatas*, secretary, and/or (at times) one member of the listed group are also seen in C2 (*prostatas* and *synarchon* only), C3, *SGDI* 1334, and *SGDI* 1335 (*prostatas* and secretary). Cabanes (1976a, 165; 1983a, 9; 1985, 350; and 1988a, 98); S. Funke (2000a, 128–9

tion there is proof that a full-fledged federal system – a federal *koinon* with federal (rather than monarchic) decision-making – has developed out of the older Molossian *ethnos*. This is, however, a great weight to place on what is a list of men not clearly identified as a “college of representatives” or a council (elsewhere *damiorgoi* are boards of magistrates, not a council);¹⁰³ not clearly constituting – despite the *dēmos*-component in the name – some popular counter-weight to monarchic power (elsewhere *damiorgoi* are from the ruling group, usually aristocratic, and the *-orgoi* or *-ourgoi* suffix denotes those who work *upon* something, not *for* it);¹⁰⁴ and not signalled as a group empowered to make decisions, or even as making *this* decision. One cannot even say that they are “responsible” for grants of citizenship, since they appear only in the dating formula.¹⁰⁵

And why are these ethnics necessarily so politically significant, when their attribution to a tribe (like ‘Molossian’ or ‘Thesprotian’) in all but one case rests on unreliable evidence,¹⁰⁶ and when it is certain that more than a total of ten ethnics

and n.118); and Corsten (1999, 201–2) thought this demonstrated that tribes took turns (the last identifying it as a form of “Engere Regierung” also present in the Acarnanian *koinon*).

103 “College of officials,” Hammond 1967, 529 and 536, but “council of tribal representatives” at 538; like “members of Parliament” (*Abgeordnete*), Giovannini 1971, 69; “college of representatives,” Cabanes 1976a, 167, with the notion of ‘representative’ derived from the association of *dam-* with *damos* as “a division of the people” (168); “Bundesrat,” and the *damiorgoi* are “Ratsherren,” Beck 1997, 142–3; Evangelides (1956 [1959], 6) also thought they were a college of magistrates, Hatzopoulos (1994a, 166) that they were “a body of magistrates at the central level” or (1996, 1:323–4) “a board of delegates of local units.” Or the ten men could be akin to the twenty-eight *gerontes* of Sparta (Hatzopoulos 1996, 1:323–4), although not, he emphasizes, a council or “an emanation of the Assembly;” he (with Lévêque 1957a, 498) thinks they are the *senatus* that Justin-Trogus (17.3.11) attributes to king Tharyps I, and had an important but unknown function. *Damiorgoi* elsewhere, see Veligianni-Terzi 1977, 4–62. Jeffery (1973–4, 330) argues that the earliest *damiorgoi* elsewhere were a group meeting a “required standard of lineage and wealth” whose numbers fluctuated.

104 From the ruling group, Veligianni-Terzi 1977, 159 (the earliest examples exist in states that no longer have a monarchy), and vanish upon the ‘democratization’ of institutions; at 161 she argues that the Molossian examples also reflect the aristocratic organization of tribes, each of which (she surmised) had its own *damiorgos*. Suffix *-orgos*: this is shown by the many compounds in which the material worked upon – wool or stone in *talasiourgos* or *lithourgos* – is the first part of the compound; this suffix in more abstract compounds (like *kakourgos* or *thaumaturgos*, “worker of evil” or “worker of wonder”) operates the same way. What is worked are the *damia*, “the public things,” Jeffery 1973–4, 319. The general assumption that a *damiorgos* is one who works “for the people” (e.g., Murakawa 1957, 385) is therefore likely to be wrong, as is his conclusion (409) that *-orgos* “sounds somewhat humiliating.”

105 Responsible, Veligianni-Terzi 1977, 47.

106 Unreliable: the identification of two of the ethnics as ‘Thesprotian’ by a medieval commentator relying on a third-century BC poem need not prove the ‘federal’ nature of the *damiorgoi*; it could as easily point to mistaken (or ‘heroic’) ethnic attribution of people who lived around the plain of Ioannina (see Nilsson 1909, 49 for the over-identification of Thesprotians; Hammond (1967, 702) thought these attributions the mistakes of Stephanus of Byzantium). The one reliable identification, of an Onopernos as Thesprotian, occurs in a witness-list in an undated manumission (*SGDI* 1351=no. 1). What were once thought to be Chaonian ethnics in this inscription are no longer thought to be so, see Larsen 1968, 275 and 277.

existed in Molossia alone?¹⁰⁷ These ten would necessarily have been chosen from a larger group, which would make the ten privileged rather than representative in a ‘federal council’ or ‘college.’ ‘Representative’ with the implication of ‘equal representation in the entire governing body’ is also a dangerous conclusion given that the *prostatas* and the secretary had, in two of three cases, the same ethnic as the first of the listed *damiorgoi*: if representative, some ethnics must, at any given time, have been more represented than others.¹⁰⁸

Finally, the political significance of the ‘Molossian *koinon*’ – that it was an early *political* federation of otherwise independent and non-political *ethnē*, an intentional political construct built out of discrete and naturally occurring smaller blocks – depends on the fact that each building-block was defined non-politically, by blood relationship (extended family constituting, at least in theory, an *ethnos*) or ancestral location (place where that family lived constituting the ‘home’ of the *ethnos*). A change in the understanding of how *ethnē* were constituted would undermine this political significance profoundly. For if *ethnē* themselves were not impermeable units into which one had to be born, but (as some scholars now believe) constructions, loci of self-affiliation and identity, then the necessary contrast between a negotiated ‘political federation’ at the highest level and non-negotiable, immutable forms of affiliation at the lower levels disappears.¹⁰⁹ If *ethnē* of any size were units one could join or change at will, rather than extended primordial families defined by blood or place – and the classification of Dodonaioi as ‘Molossoi’ in a seemingly early inscription (*SGDI* 1351=**no. 1**) would suggest some flexibility here – then the political significance of including, for example, ‘Thesprotians’ in a ‘Molossian confederation’ disappears.¹¹⁰ Ten *damiorgoi* with different ethnics then

107 Noted also as a problem by Papazoglou 1970, 130 and Davies 2000, 256. Hammond (1967, 532) places all ten of the *damiorgoi* ethnics (even the three allegedly ‘Thesprotian’ ones) within Molossia itself, or in the mountains to the west and south (see MAP 3), and there were at least five more: in addition to those listed in this inscription, the Phoinatoi (*SGDI* 1351=**no. 1**), the Phylates and Kuestoi (C2), and (more dubiously) the Upailochioi and the Donettinoi (see Rhianos of Bene *FGrH* 265 F15-16) were also identified as Molossian or thought to live near the edges of the plain of Ioannina. For all of Epirus there were even more: Evangelides (1956 [1959], 13) estimated more than sixty ethnics, while Theopompus had claimed there were fourteen *ethnē* (*FGrH* 115 F382); Cabanes (1976a, 135–41) listed 157 (not including those from Buthrotum).

108 Davies (2000, 255) thought it argued for one tribe having “more than [its] fair share of executive office.”

109 As an entry-point into this new literature, see Beck 2003; Davies (2000, 255) was the first to notice the problem of tribe as “construct, not primordial entity” in the northwest, although he endorsed the federal idea nonetheless.

110 Dodonaioi: we can conclude that they ‘joined the *ethnos*’ of the Molossians if Dodonaioi did indeed identify themselves as ‘Thesprotian’ before 400 BC (see above n.6). An Onopernos is listed among the Thesprotians in this inscription, and another is listed as *prostatas* (without further specification), but since the Thesprotians also had *prostatai* (C49), *SGDI* 1351 does not necessarily prove that a Thesprotian could be *Molossian prostatas* (and he is adduced in 1351 right after the list of Thesprotians, not the list of Molossians); or that the ethnics in this inscription must be interpreted politically. The first Onopernos listed as Molossian *prostatas* appears in *SGDI* 1346 (=bno. 9), dated (see above pp. 29–30) 100 years later than our inscription, and can, similarly, reflect not political ‘federation’ but shifting identities in the northwest. As Larsen

become not a group of 'insiders' and 'outsiders' affiliated in a new form of political organization ('the Molossoi'), but merely a group of ten men with different ethnics. C1 is, in short, an inscription that has been extensively over-interpreted, its political importance then distorted and exaggerated by its placement in a web of understanding characterized by dubious definitions (*ethnos* as closed descent-group) and a (perhaps) falsely perceived trajectory of development (from *ethnos* to *koinon*).¹¹¹ Here, in fact, there is evidence only of the existence of various officials alongside the king, some of whom have the same ethnic, others of whom do not.

If C1 cannot show – beyond a reasonable doubt – federal institutions or federal decision-making, the strongest argument for the existence of a federal state in Molossia vanishes. Even if imagined to have been instituted at a moment when a king was weak or a child,¹¹² the “*koinon* of the Molossians” as a term, as a concept, and as a federation in the fourth century rests on a weak-to-non-existent evidentiary basis. The epigraphical evidence that uses the specific term is likely to be third century BC, not fourth; the coin-legend “of the Molossians” cannot alone establish that the group responsible for minting was a federal *koinon*; the one relevant inscription whose contents are securely dated does not mention a *koinon*, only a king and various officials with ethnics whose relationship, duties, and powers are unclear. Given that the types of official attested in C1 – an apparently annual magistrate (the *prostatas*)¹¹³ with unknown responsibilities (political leadership? tribal headman?),¹¹⁴ a secretary, and a group of men – are regularly found in almost every

(1968, 275) noted, this Onopernos *prostatas* of *SGDI* 1351 is the only real evidence of an early “federal state,” and if *ethnē* are not closed and demarcated blood-groups then his political significance diminishes substantially.

- 111 Beck (2003, 180–1) has noted the growing criticism of the “genetic model” of development, which “conceives the emergence of a *koinon* in a linear ascent from old (and backward) tribalism to new (and modern) federalism.”
- 112 S. Funke’s (2000a, 127, 130–5) speculation (a *Bundesstaat* brought fully into existence under Alcetas, but underway long before, under Tharyps, because too complicated to be brought into existence quickly).
- 113 The *ἐπί*-plus-genitive construction suggests an annual magistracy, in contrast to the genitive-absolute construction in which the king usually (but not always: see *SGDI* 1336) appears. Because the same *prostatas* appears with two different secretaries in *SGDI* 1334, *SGDI* 1335, and C6, and because *prostatai* in nearby Chaonia were annual (Thuc. 2.80.5, *ἐπ’ ἐτησίῳ προστασίῳ*), it has been assumed that in Molossia *prostatai* and secretaries must have entered into their annual office at different times of year (Cabanès 1976a, 165). But it is also possible that the secretary was an annual officer but the *prostatas* was not, or vice-versa; Cabanès (1976a, 165) also suggested (in the cases of *SGDI* 1334 and 1335, and C6 – the last has a different secretary, but shares the same *prostatas*) that perhaps there had to be a replacement of a secretary who had fallen ill or the like, with which Corsten (1999, 202 n.17) agrees.
- 114 Thucydides uses *prostasia* (rather than *prostataia*) to connote political leadership (always qualified by a phrase, such as “of the *demos*” or “of the *plethos*”), see Davies 2000, 252 and n.53; Hammond (1967, 527) thought the Molossian *prostatas* was appointed “to restrict royal power,” Cabanès (1976a, 164) that he presided over the Molossian *ekklesia* and was “défenseur des intérêts du peuple.” Yet the *prostatas* of the Molossians is never seen acting in any of these ways; he continues to exist and to be part of the dating formula under the Epirote *koinon*, which was itself led by *strategoí* (e.g., C75), which suggests that his role, whatever it was, is associated with the Molossians as a local group rather than with a larger league before 167 BC. Only in

other Greek state whatever its constitutional form, a ‘federal state’ strikingly different from any of its contemporaries simply cannot be deduced from what there is.¹¹⁵

If, however, there was no federal state in Molossia and the *damiorgoi* were not representatives at its meetings, what might the detailed dating formulae of inscription C1 instead suggest? Another interpretation of the role of the *damiorgoi* is very possible.¹¹⁶ The stele with its two inscriptions memorializes two grants of *politeia*, both to foreign women and their offspring. This is unusual: all other (later) grants of this sort in Molossia will be to men.¹¹⁷ What does a grant of *politeia* to a woman confer? Such a grant allows these women and their children to belong to the group (of ‘Molossians,’ presumably), to be sure. But it also grants them, by allowing them to belong, access to the religious life of the group, which was important for women in particular;¹¹⁸ such a grant also creates a bilateral Molossian descent-line, important throughout the Greek world for hereditary priesthoods,¹¹⁹ at a time when Molossian control of the sanctuary, with its priesthoods, was being asserted.¹²⁰ One

the last surviving reference (*SEG* LVII.510= Tziafalias and Helly 2007, 424 l.58 and 425 l.79; see also 457; 130/129 BC) does the *prostatas* have something to do: he is to see to the inscribing of a decree. Outside the area of Epirus it is usually specified what *prostatai* were *prostatai* of (e.g., of the *ekklesia*, the *boulē*, the city, the *demos*); only in Epirus are there (only) *prostatai* of ethnic groups, which might suggest a less obviously political, and perhaps more tribal or communal, function: they are attested at the regional level (of Molossians, Thesprotians, and Chaonians), but also on an even smaller community level (of Aterargoi, C35).

115 *Basileus* and *grammateus* are, after all, “pan-Greek,” Davies 2000, 252. Ten men could be akin to the twenty-eight *gerontes* of Sparta (Hatzopoulos 1996, 1:323), or act as councillors to the king (as the king’s companions do in Macedonia – although Hatzopoulos (1996, 1:325–6, 328) insists that in both Molossia and Macedonia the king’s companions differed from “a board of local units,” as he defines the *damiorgoi* here, and which he thinks also existed in Macedonia, 1996, 1:329).

116 And is argued at greater length in Meyer 2012.

117 *SGDI* 1336 (*ateleia* and *enteleia*); C3 (*proxenia*, *politeia*, *enktesis*, *ateleia*, *enteleia*, *asylia*, and *asphaleia*); *SGDI* 1340 (*proxenia*); *SGDI* 1341 (*proxenia*, *[asyli]a*, *asphaleia*, and *[atele]a*); C2 (*politeia*, *[atele]a*, *enteleia*, *gās egktasis kai oikias*); C6 (*at[eleia]* (and there might have been more)); *SGDI* 1334 (*isopoliteia*); *SGDI* 1335 (*politeia*); *SGDI* 1337 (*[iso]politeia* (and there might have been more)); *SGDI* 1345 (*[poli]teia*); *SGDI* 1343 (*politeia*); *SGDI* 1344 (*politeia*).

118 Harvey 1969 (summarizing earlier discussions); Cabanes 1983b, 206–7; 1989c, 19–20; Davies 2000, 256; Hoffmann 2001 (cult).

119 See Blok 2009, 162–4 (bilateral descent necessary in Athens); Connelly 2007, 44–5 and 47 (nineteen hereditary priesthoods in Attica, and see also Garland 1984, 83–4). The structure of the *genos* organized the allocation of priesthoods not just in Attica alone, Parker 1996, 65. See, e.g., the priestess of Artemis Pergaia in Halikarnassos, required to prove bilateral citizen descent over three generations (*Syll.*³ 1015.5–7). A requirement for bilateral descent may also have prevailed in the priesthood of Athena Lindia in Rhodes, a requirement that in turn might explain the high degree of adoption practiced in the best families there, including even the adoption of women within families (Dignas 2003, 46; Stavrianopoulou 1993).

120 “. . . every re-structuring of the political order required or potentially required the reorganization of cults, rewriting of sacrificial calendars, re-assignment of priesthoods,” Parker 2009, 183. Changing the priests occurred when Athens took over Oropos and Delos, see Parker 1996, 148–51 and 247; Mikalson 1998, 208–18, 236–41 (all after 168 BC); Parker 2009, 185–6; at (2009, 190) Parker notes that the right to hold priestly office was one element of Greek religion that was “strictly controlled” (and see also Krauter 2004, 94–8, 112–13).

common type of *damiorgos* elsewhere in the early Greek world was a member of a board of officials with oversight, sometimes judicial, of religious matters and sanctuary practices: and this fits Dodona very well.¹²¹ The two inscribed acts would then list the *damiorgoi* in the dating formula because *damiorgoi* belong in a sanctuary's dating formula: this matter, and matters like it, pertain to their charge, for they in some way have an interest in (or participate in, or oversee) a political act that is also, simultaneously, a religious act. If the fact of ten different ethnics for ten different *damiorgoi* is indeed significant – if only one man was, deliberately, chosen from each *ethnos* – then the artificially constructed college that resulted would reflect a governing board for the sanctuary of Dodona carefully but not even-handedly drawn from neighboring tribes or areas, as the members of the Delphic amphictyony were carefully but not even-handedly drawn from Delphi's 'neighbors.' At Delphi too, the *grammateus* and the specific *amphictyones* holding the presidency of the amphictyony always came from the same *ethnos*.¹²² The Delphic amphictyony and the fifth-century "Arcadian religious association (which we may loosely call an amphictyony) which administered the sanctuary of Zeus at Mt. Lykaion" even minted their own coins, for the purpose of financing sanctuary activities and festivals, as we can postulate the Dodona *damiorgoi* also did.¹²³

Similar fourth- or third-century grants, chiefly of *proxenia* and this time on bronze, have been found at Lousoi in Arcadia, and are also dated by *damiorgoi*.¹²⁴

121 See summary of Veligianni-Terzi 1977, 163 (at Argos [6–8], the phratry of the Labyadai at Delphi [51–4], an unknown location in northern Arcadia [33–5]); at Mycenae [12–13] *hieromnamones* of the sanctuary of Perseus are to adjudicate disputes between parents and children if there are no *damiorgoi*, which might also imply an association of the *damiorgoi* with the sanctuary, although Veligianni-Terzi instead concludes that both were civic officials). Murakawa (1957, 400 and 402) also noted multiple religious responsibilities in the various appearances of *demiourgoi*. Bowden (2003) now argues for the predominantly religious (rather than political or administrative) function of the early *amphictyones* (who were described as *ethnē*, not *poleis*) at Delphi as well: they looked after the festivals, and maintained the fabric (including the sacred land) of the sanctuary. It seems very unlikely that Dodona would function without such a religious, or even supervisory, board, attested (under various other titles also) in other sanctuaries: but one for Dodona has not (to my knowledge) been identified before. Cabanes (1976a, 170) noted the parallels but thought them unrelated and these conclusions impossible, since *politeia* was granted and therefore the act had to be a purely political one.

122 The surviving examples are all third- and second-century. In fifteen of them the 'presiding' tribe and the *grammateus* are Aetolian (*CID* 4.31–5, 38, 41–5, 72, 87, 98–9); in the last, both presider and *grammateus* are Kieirian (*CID* 4.117). In *CID* 4.106, the *grammateus* is Corinthian but the *hieromnemones* are not listed individually. By contrast, an *under*-secretary honored in *CID* 4.46 was Achaean, not Aetolian (as the presider was), seems to have held his post for years, and may have in fact done all the work (on the secretaryship at Delphi, see Lefèvre 1998, 214–15). In the Delphic amphictyony these offices tended not to rotate *between* polities of *hieromnemones* – but only because their exercise was a reflection of the political dominance of a group like the Thessalians or the Aetolians, who therefore gave themselves the roles of presidors and secretary for as long as they could (Sánchez 2001, 471–2).

123 Delphi and Arcadia, Nielsen 2002, 142–52 (Delphi at 148; quotation at 152); for Delphi see also Kinns 1983 and Lefèvre 1998, 173 (calling itself a *koinon amphiktionikon*).

124 Lousoi, *JG* V: 388–90, 395. They are also in both *repoussé* and *pointillé* style, see Wilhelm 1901, 65, 68, 69, 70, 72, 75, 77. Four new, earlier (fifth-century) bronze plaques are reported from recent excavations (see *SEG* LIII.411), but are not yet (to my knowledge) published.

These were found in the sanctuary of Artemis, probably posted on the wall of the propylon there, and one *damiorgos* is specifically identified as a priest, another in the same inscriptions as a Stymphalian (who was also serving as *oikonomos*).¹²⁵ In these plaques, the granting power is explicitly said to be the *polis* or *damos* of Lousoi, but in this “community centered on a sanctuary” the *damiorgoi* could have been, again, sanctuary officials also drawn into the service of the *polis*, or *polis*-officials with particular oversight over religious matters.¹²⁶ If an earlier *damiorgos*-inscription from “northern Arcadia” is in fact also from Lousoi, then there is an even clearer association of the Lousoi *damiorgoi* with a sanctuary, since those earlier *damiorgoi* were responsible for policing the correct attire of women, this time in the sanctuary of the goddess Demeter, and were themselves subject to fines if they did not.¹²⁷ It seems likely that here, as at Dodona, the gift of *politeia* and other privileges was an act with substantial religious implications, implications that their posting in a sanctuary, and their dating by *damiorgoi* with responsibilities for religious oversight, also acknowledged.¹²⁸ The association of sanctuaries with *damiorgoi*, and the parallels with the composition and actions of the Delphic amphictyons, suggest very strongly that the *damiorgoi* at Dodona are a religious amphictyony, not a political – federal – entity.

If correct, this new interpretation implies that in fourth-century Molossia the religious sphere was as clearly demarcated as the ‘political’ sphere, or probably more so, and worthy of its own officials for that reason. The most significant change in Molossia between 430 and 370 was not the creation of a federal board of state governance, but the new Molossian oversight of the sanctuary of Zeus at Dodona, as a consequence of which the kings faced the challenge of overseeing the shrine. For this, a board of officials was created – not to restrain the king, but to assist and support him, and in that case likely chosen by the king himself. For in Molossia, the king in the fourth century still has significant powers: kingship was (for example) all that Aristotle saw when he looked to the northwest – he saw, or at least reported, no other political form, and no federal *koinon*.¹²⁹ Rather than seeing in an inscrip-

125 Physical location, Wilhelm 1901, 64; at 65 he provides a photograph of the plaque (showing four posting-holes) of IG V² 389: ἔ[δ]οξε [δ]ὲ ἐπὶ δαμιοργῶν ἱερέος Δεινόλα, Σακρέτος, Βούμα, οἰκονόμου Ἀνθεσιλ[ά]ου Στυμφαλίου. Veligianni-Terzi (1977, 67) punctuates before Stymphalios, thus making this ethnic into a fifth name instead; this is possible but seems unlikely. IG V² 389 and Nielsen (2002, 461–2) explain a Stymphalian’s participation as the result of *sympoliteia* (which a very fragmentary inscription, IG V² 358, may attest), but it is also possible that the board had non-Lousoian members.

126 Quotation, Nielsen 2002, 165; because the grants are made by city or people the assumption is that *damiorgoi* are here civic officials (e.g., Nielsen 2002, 461 and n.169). The city itself was a kilometer away to the west, see Jost 1985, 47–51.

127 SEG XI.1112 (ca. 500 BC), with Murakawa 1957, 393 and Veligianni-Terzi 1977, 33–5 (with further references). Lousoi is one of three possible provenances; the other two are Kleitor and Pheneos.

128 Posting is discussed at the beginning of the first entry in IG V², and see also above n.69. These officials also change their names over time, from *damiorgoi* to *hieromnamones* (IG V² 393–4, grants of *isopoliteia*, *proxenia*, *ateleia*, and so forth) as will also be the case in Molossia: see below on C3, p. 81.

129 Ar. Pol. 1310b38–40, 1313a18–24: for further discussion of these passages see below.

tion so heavy on names and so light on action a type of purely political structure that implied restrictions on the king, it is easier to see the inscription for what it is: a record of the results of an act that was dated by, and might have somehow involved, kings, a board of religious officials elsewhere known as an amphictyony, a *prostatas*, and a secretary.

Yet these passages of Aristotle have been read as supporting the (traditional) reading of C1 as a document of the Molossian federal state, a state in which the 'board' restrained the king; so, too, has a passage in Plutarch. For they have suggested, to some, a kind of 'constitutional' kingship, a type of "kingly rule according to . . . *nomos*," a kingship subject to limitations.¹³⁰ But do they? Aristotle, when he touched on Molossia in the *Politics*, saw Molossian kings who – along with their Macedonian counterparts – could be listed as examples of benefactors ("men who had settled or gained a territory") who had become kings.¹³¹ He also adduced the Molossian kings as an example of a long-lived monarchy. Why did the kingship last? Because the kings were "less envied." Why were they less envied? Because they turned the kingship into something "more measured" (τὰς μὲν βασιλείας ἄγειν ἐπὶ τὸ μετρίωτερον), which Aristotle defined as "being masterful over less . . . (that is), by becoming less despotic and more equal (to their subjects) in habits" (ἐλαττόνων . . . κύριοι . . . αὐτοί τε γὰρ ἦπτον γίνονται δεσποτικοὶ καὶ τοῖς ἥθεσιν ἴσοι μᾶλλον).¹³² There is no sense of compulsion or constitutional limitation, only that the institution survives when these behavioral modifications occur. It is the kings who turn the kingship into the path of moderation: the kingship was non-despotic by a voluntary act of its kings, by their acting in certain ways, by adjusting their *ēthē*. This moderating of the monarchy is depicted as the personal choice of more than one king over a period of time (αὐτοί τε . . . γίνονται). In Aristotle's next example of turning a kingship into something "more measured," Sparta, the kingship was shared by two kings, and Spartan kings were made "more measured" also by Theopompus's creation of the ephorate.¹³³ But Aristotle had offered no such

130 S. Funke 2000a, 3 (" . . . eine konstitutionell geordnete Beschränkung der königlichen Macht"), and see also 127 and 134 n.136; quotation, Hatzopoulos 2003, 64; Davies (2000, 251) opts for a type of 'contractual' kingship or "hereditary kingship with stated prerogatives" (πρότερον δὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς γέρασι πατρικὰ βασιλείαι, Thuc. 1.13.1); Cabanes 2004, 22 ("[l]e souverain ne dispose que de pouvoirs limités"); 2005, 148.

131 *Pol.* 1310b38–40 (ἢ κτίσαντες ἢ κτησάμενοι χώραν).

132 *Pol.* 1313a18–24. English translations vary: "the fewer powers the kings have, the longer time the office in its entirety must last, for they themselves become less despotic . . . and their subjects envy them less" (Rackham, in LCL); "for the fewer things over which [kings] have authority . . . they themselves are less like masters and more equal in their characters, and are less envied by those they rule" (Lord); "the less direct power monarchs have, the less they are envied by their subjects and therefore the less despotic they are" (Davies 2000, 238). These are very different interpretations, and all (I think) a little wrong. The language instead implies choices of behavior, and the first part of the sentence glosses the second, so: "(by) being (i.e. choosing to be) masterful over less . . . (that is) by becoming less despotic and more equal to the subjects in habits, (they bring it about that) their subjects envy them less, and the kingship lasts longer."

133 *Pol.* 1313a25–30. Hammond (1967, 527) therefore concluded that the *prostatas* in Molossia was an official "appointed to restrict the power of the kings," but this is over-reaching.

illustrative example of what it meant for a king to make a kingship “more measured” for Molossia; what the two examples, Sparta and Molossia, have in common is merely that both had a shared kingship, although in the Molossian case even the sharing was voluntary.¹³⁴ How the kings comported themselves, and their frequent sharing of the kingship with another member of the royal house, were the ways the Molossian kingship was made “more measured” or “more moderate,” not by the creation of a board of *damiorgoi* or by the introduction of a *prostatas*. Limitations were self-imposed and a matter of behavior. The Molossian monarch was more moderate as a matter of choice; kingly, not despotic; and the monarchy was therefore long-lived. That is all Aristotle is saying.

The last piece of evidence that has been taken to imply a limited or constitutional kingship is a story in Plutarch, the moment a great gathering in the early third century at which kings Neoptolemus II and Pyrrhus – ruling together – and people swore mutual oaths to each other. This occurred “at Passaron, a place of the Molossian land:” “the king swearing to rule according to the laws, and they (the *Epeirotai*) to maintain the kingdom according to the laws” (see **MAP TWO**).¹³⁵ Plutarch says this ceremony was “customary,” implying that this ritual had taken place for centuries. Hammond saw it as “traditional,” and for Cabanes and Funke it was the enactment, and renewal, of one of the earliest restraints on the king by the Molossian *koinon*.¹³⁶ Yet this ceremony was not an internal ‘state’ matter: Plutarch’s contrast between “Molossian land” and “Epirotes” is quite deliberate.¹³⁷

Molossian kings and *Epirote* allies, not Molossians, swore faith to each other at a place sacred to Zeus Areius, Zeus the War-God: the allies to guard the kingdom (a primary meaning of βασιλεία, which can then *also* mean kingship) according to the laws – or as was customary; the king to lead (also a primary meaning of ἄρχω) by certain laws – or as was customary.¹³⁸ This ceremony celebrates and cements not a

134 Alcetas I and Neoptolemus I, Neoptolemus I and Arybbas II, and Neoptolemus II and Pyrrhus all seem to have shared the kingship (Paus. 1.11.3; Plut. *Pyrrh.* 5.1), as did, possibly, Neoptolemus II in his youth with Arybbas II, Aeacides, and Alcetas II; see discussion of Corvisier 2001.

135 Plut. *Pyrrh.* 5.2: εἰώθεισαν οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐν Πασσαρῶνι, χωρίῳ τῆς Μολοττίδος, Ἀρείῳ Διὶ θύσαντες ὀρκωμοτεῖν τοῖς Ἑπειρώταις καὶ ὀρκίζειν, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἄρχειν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, ἐκέινους δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν διαφυλάττειν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους.

136 Hammond 1967, 576; Cabanes 1976a, 164; 2004, 23; and 2005, 148; S. Funke 2000a, 133–4, and (at 134 n.134) she thought it specifically dated to the time of king Tharyps I, and was one indication of the early establishment of the federal Molossian state. Cataldi (1990) saw it as a traditional ceremony altered and improved to include the Epirotes in the new Epirote state, and additionally stressed the polity-constituting qualities of the yearly festival that would have accompanied such a ceremony, which S. Funke (2000a, 134 n.135) finds unlikely and unnecessary, given the political/institutional qualities of inscription C1. Cross (1932, 17) thought the monarchy had always been limited by the assembly, and that when a constitutional monarchy was created, it was “the old forms” that were used to create it, “as certain doctrines of our Common Law which had lain dormant while the House of Tudor ruled us revived at the touch of Sir Edward Coke.”

137 Cataldi (1990, 182) argued that Plutarch’s language was taken directly from Proxenus, Pyrrhus’s contemporary and court historian and author of an *Epeirotika*. For more on Plutarch’s reliability in terminology, see below n.189.

138 Franke (1955, 25) noted the contrast between Molossian and Epirote but thought it a common alternation, while S. Funke (2000a, 133 n.134) thought the contrast unimportant. Zeus Areius



Map 2: Molossia and the Northwest with toponyms.

federal 'state' but an alliance; it is an oath of alliance, not an oath of good behavior, to be dated, most likely, earlier than Pyrrhus. But it is not be dated in the early fourth century, since at that time the Molossians led no alliance of their neighbors. The first 'Epirotic' alliance was constructed by Alexander I (343/2–331/0), the Molossian king most favored by Philip II of Macedon.¹³⁹ The king swears for the Molossians, as the Molossian king always did, for the Molossian kings were supreme in war¹⁴⁰ – supreme as they could be in so many other aspects of life, if they had not chosen to be "more moderate" and "less despotic." Molossia in the fourth century, at least until the death of Alexander I, was a monarchic state known above all for the famous oracular sanctuary now in its territory, which oracle and sanctuary the Molossians and their kings oversaw with the help of a religious amphictyony.

III.2. MOLOSSIAN EXPANSION IN THE FOURTH CENTURY

The monarchy in Molossia in the first three-quarters of the fourth century, much as it might have dominated and defined the sphere of 'the political' and much as it had powers it could have used despotically, was not always triumphantly successful. Rather than giving the impression of loftily making a series of "more moderate" choices, Molossian kings often looked instead as though they were following a path of unplanned, at times desperate, bumbling. These failings, however, do seem squarely attributable to the ineptitude or bad luck of the kings themselves rather than to any constitutional restraints on their exercise of power. The arena in which they, along with their Macedonian counterparts, failed or succeeded most conspicuously was in what little can be deduced about Molossian expansion, or extension of domination, in the fourth century BC. Molossia did extend its influence south in the fourth century, since Philip II of Macedon defeated three former Elean colonies north of the Gulf of Arta in 343/2 and handed their territories, west of Ambracia along the coast of the Ambraciote Gulf, to Alexander I, while garrisoning Ambracia himself four years later (see **MAP TWO**). These cities did not go willingly: as [Dem.] 7 *Hal.* 32 tells it, after their forcible capture and the burning of their lands,

as war-god, Hammond 1967, 369; see Burzacchini 1997, 144–5 on Dakaris's suggestion of Zeus as (also) the oath-god.

139 Hammond 1967, 557–8. There is no direct evidence of who went with Alexander, whose exploits in south Italy are reported very briefly, and mostly from the south Italian point of view, in only one chapter of Livy (8.24). S. Funke (2000a, 187–8) thought Alexander included only the Thesprotians on his expedition, and not as allies but as new and compliant members of the state 'Apeiros.' Franke (1955, 37–8) thought that Alexander could not have been leading an alliance at all because he was called "king of the Molossians" (Ar. frag. 614 Rose), not "Epirote" or "King of the Epirotes." Pyrrhus was, however, a self-identified Molossian who led an alliance of others (see below n.199), so this argument fails. There are also two references to allies subsequently, *SGDI* 1336 (time of king Neoptolemus II as sole king, 317–312 or 302–297) and *IG IX*: 1.4.1750, for which see below nn.201–3.

140 Kings always organize alliances for Molossian state, Gauthier 1979, 122; supreme in war, Hammond 1967, 562.

they were handed over to Alexander I “to be his slaves” (δουλεύειν).¹⁴¹ Since one of the three ‘Thesprotian’ *ethnē* in C1 (of 370–368) was located in the mountains to the west of Dodona, this has been thought to represent, earlier in the fourth century, some Molossian ‘progress’ to the west as well.¹⁴²

Yet how far (south and) west did Molossian influence or domination reach? Cabanes argued that Molossian domination of Thesprotia, to Molossia’s west, was already extensive by the mid-fourth century.¹⁴³ For Xenophon had remarked (*Hell.* 6.2.10) that king Alcetas in 373 could (at the request of the Athenians, Ἀλκέτον δὲ ἐδεήθησαν συνδιαβίβασαι τούτους) transport 600 peltasts to a besieged Corcyra from the coast opposite it.¹⁴⁴ But permission to pass through a territory to help a covert (and nocturnal) operation, and political (and military) domination of that territory, are not the same thing. A list of Epidaurian *theorodokoi* ca. 356–355 BC,¹⁴⁵ which has these ‘hosts of sacred envoys’ listed in (probably) the geographical order in which they were visited when the stone was inscribed in Epidaurus after the envoys’ return,¹⁴⁶ seems to suggest the same negative conclusion. For under the

141 One must of course allow for hyperbole, bias, and incendiary intent of the orator, but perhaps one should not ignore these completely; as Errington (1975, 45) notes, “δουλεύειν even in a speech is strong stuff.” S. Funke (2000a, 174) argues instead that the three cities, like Cassopē (a *polis* in the process of creation when the three cities, in Cassopaeian territory [Hammond 1967, 534], were given to Alexander), were (rather) integrated into the Molossian *koinon* with a “special status” (because Cassopē minted coins after 342). The three cities were Boucheta (=Buchetium), Elatria (Theop. *FGrH* 115 F206 and Hammond 1967, 534), and Pandosia, [Dem.] 7 *Hal.* 32 and Theop. *FGrH* 115 F207. This extension to the south was seen and reported in the geographer Ps.-Scylax 32 (Müller), writing 338–335 BC (Hammond 1967, 511), who noted that the Molossians possessed a coastal zone of forty stades on the Ambraciot Gulf. Hammond (1967, 517 and 1980, 10) dated this section of Ps.-Scylax to 380–360 BC, but only because Ps.-Scylax’s account of *Macedonia* was before 356 and because his account of *Illyria* “refer[red] to nothing later than 380 BC;” he then argued further (1967, 523) that Molossian control of at least a stretch of the coast of the Ambraciot Gulf preceded Philip’s gift. But given the vulnerability of this stretch of coastline if Buchetium and Ambracia are in hostile hands (Hammond 1967, 514), and because identifying specific layers in Ps.-Scylax seems a very arbitrary matter, it is much more likely that Ps.-Scylax’s description dates after 343 BC – in other words, is contemporary to when he was writing, and that coastline and cities were given together. Livy 8.24.3 noted that the Acheron river had its source in “Molossia,” which confirms that at the time of Alexander I the Molossians controlled the mountains to the south of Dodona as well, which they would have had to do in order to control the three Elean colonies, as well as part of the Ambraciot coast.

142 The Onopernoi are in the mountains; the other two ‘Thesprotian’ *ethnē*, the Kelaithoi and the Tripolitai, have been located to the south-east of the plain of Ioannina. The ‘Chaonian’ Amyrnnoi in C1 are probably, despite their ‘tribal’ affiliation (which could also be an error, see above n.106), to be located to the south of the Ioannina plain, see below n.268 and MAP 3.

143 Cabanes 1976a, 113; 2004, 19–20; 2005, 149; 2007, 231.

144 Franke (1955, 18–20) thought Alcetas was threading the Athenians through Chaonia, which was friendly to Athens at the time anyway: “von einer Unterwerfung unter die Vorherrschaft des Alcetas . . . kann demnach kaum die Rede sein” (19).

145 *IG* IV² 1.95.II ll.23–33 (Molossians at 31); date of lefthand column, Perlman 2000, 70–2.

146 That lists of *theorodokoi* are itineraries of actual journeys is debated; “while there is little doubt that the lists approximate the routes followed . . . it is equally clear that the lists do not always adhere strictly to itinerary order” (Perlman 2000, 31; Daux 1949, 4 and 19), and most such

geographical heading “Apeiros,”¹⁴⁷ the order of the list is Pandosia, Cassopa, Thesproti, Poionos [unknown: or the name of a host?],¹⁴⁸ Corcyra, Chaonia, Artichia [unknown], and Molossoi (for whom the *theorodokos* was Tharyps, the king),¹⁴⁹ and the easier deduction therefore is that the “Thesproti” were an independent entity and did indeed inhabit and control the coast opposite Corcyra even in 372 and certainly in 356–355. From this coast the envoys passed over to Corcyra and then back to the mainland a little further north, in Chaonia.¹⁵⁰ Xenophon would therefore be reporting on the consequences of a favor that king Alcetas had been able to negotiate, not the consequences of a right that Alcetas had achieved by conquest.

Alcetas I was, indeed, not a king likely to have led Molossia to great conquests, either of Thesprotia or anywhere else. He was beset by difficulties: he spent part of his reign in exile in Sicily, was claimed as a subject by Jason of Pherai, and only returned to Molossia by the armed help of the Illyrians and Dionysius of Syracuse in 385/4. Most curiously, the Molossians “paid no attention to him” when he invaded, and only came out to fight when the Illyrians started ravaging the land.¹⁵¹ In the battle that ensued, the Illyrians allegedly killed 15,000 Molossians, and the country was only saved by the timely intervention of the Spartans – who surely, if they had encountered a federal *koinon* in Molossia, would have broken it up, as they had dissolved numerous other confederations at precisely this time as well.¹⁵² Yet

lists also have addenda. Thus this Epidaurian list has at least two parts, and is dated, overall, 360–311 BC (Hammond 1967, 517–18).

- 147 The interpretation of “Apeiros” as a geographical heading (and therefore referring to a geographical, not political, entity) is suggested by the larger letters in which it is inscribed on this stone, an interpretation only strengthened by *IG* IV² 1.122 l.60 (Epidaurus, ca. 350–340 BC), thanks from “Andromacha from Apeiros (ἐξ Ἀπειρώ)” (with Franke 1955, 17), and *IG* V.1.1231, a dedication of a slave at the sanctuary of Poseidon at Taenarum (ca. 365 BC) by “Aischrion the Apeirote,” who thereby identifies himself as a foreigner from Apeiros (the other dedicators have names and patronyms and are presumably locals); see Ducat 1990, 181–3.
- 148 Poionos a host name or ethnic, Hammond 1967, 518 and 1980a, 11; doubted by Cabanes 1997, 97 and the issue is still unresolved, Cabanes 2001, 376 n.28 and 2007, 232 n.37.
- 149 This Tharyps=Arybbas II (honored by the Athenians), Hammond 1967, 517–18; Cabanes (1976a, 116) thought him merely a member of the royal family.
- 150 And some of Thesprotia must have remained independent no matter what, as is also suggested by Ps.-Scylax 29 (Müller), whose account moves along the coast (Chaonia, Thesprotia, Cassopē) and notes that Corcyra paralleled more of the coastline of Thesprotia than that of Chaonia, see Cabanes 1976a, 115 and 117 and 1981a, 22–3; Hammond 1980a, 18. Cornelius Nepos’s contribution (*Tim.* 2), that the Athenian general Timotheus ca. 375 BC made the “Epirotes, Athamanes, and Chaonians” allies, does not prove that Molossia had already absorbed Thesprotia by then (*contra* Nilsson 1909, 58) and created a combined state of ‘Epirus,’ since “Epirote” as a *political* designation is (all agree) an anachronistic term in the mid-fourth century, imported by Nepos.
- 151 Diod. 15.13.3 (οὐδένος δ’ αὐτοῖς προσέχοντος).
- 152 Sicily, Diod. 15.13.1–3; Jason, Xen. *Hell.* 6.1.7; Illyrians, Diod. 15.13.2–3. Spartans: break up confederations at Thebes, Argos-Corinth, Mantinea, and Olynthus, in 387–383, Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.32–4, 5.2–7, 5.2.11–24, 5.2.37–5.3.9, 5.3.18–20, 26. Cross (1932, 31) speculated that the pro-Athenian Alcetas was at odds with his pro-Spartan Molossians, and although the Spartans did come to the Molossians’ aid against the Illyrians they refused to take direct action against Alcetas because he was a friend of the tyrant of Syracuse; S. Funke (2000a, 152) thought the Spartans were choosing to support a *Bundesstaat* with a constitutional monarch because it

despite this folly, Alcetas was nonetheless accepted again as king. It seems unlikely, therefore, that he was or even became a strong and popular king, one likely to have advanced the borders of Molossia to the Ionian Sea.¹⁵³ A minimalist view of Molossian achievements in the fourth century thus has the kingdom expanding to include Dodona and the ridge of mountains to its west by 370 BC, and then moving through the southern mountains and breaking through to the Gulf of Arta, with some territory along the Gulf's northwest shore (including that of the three Elean colonies taken by Philip) after 342, but nothing more. In fact, the Molossians *per se* appear to have achieved little: their greatest gain, to the south, was a gift to Alexander from Philip II of Macedon, not a deed of their own doing.

Existing arguments are comfortable with implying that the expansion of Molossia and the existence of the Molossian federal *koinon* were related phenomena, that the synergy of federation and the limitations placed by the federal *koinon* on the king were in some undefined way the secret of its external success. Yet what little the Molossians achieved in the fourth century they could have achieved under virtually any form of government. It seems more likely that they achieved what they did achieve precisely because they had kings – when this northern kingdom entered the Second Athenian Naval League earlier in the century, it was the kings Alcetas and Neoptolemus who were listed as members, not “the Molossians”¹⁵⁴ – and because they had in Alexander I a well-connected king whose control of his own kingdom was reinforced by his powerful brother-in-law, Philip of Macedon. In other words, kingship, not *koinon*, made the difference. Indeed, constitutionally the most powerful influence in Molossia after the mid-fourth century was probably the model of dynamic kingship so dramatically displayed by the Macedonian kings Philip II and Alexander the Great, a model that encouraged Alexander I of Molossia to undertake his own expedition of conquest in south Italy;¹⁵⁵ and Philip's gift was made to Alexander of Molossia himself, if [Dem.]'s language of handing over the former Elean colonies “to Alexander to be his slaves” is accurate.¹⁵⁶ Molossia in the fourth century, then, far from being an early federal *koinon* with federal decision-making, was much more likely a tribal-monarchic kingdom that also had a *prostatas* and a secretary, and whose major sanctuary had ten *damiorgoi* with religious responsibilities, at any given time after 370 BC – and it was as a monarchy, and only as a monarchy, that Molossia caught Aristotle's interest. As he noted with approval, the

would be easier to control than a republic.

153 *Contra*, Cross 1932, 32–6 and Hammond 1967, 524, who are both (overly) impressed by Xenophon's reference to Alcetas as ὁ ἐν τῇ Ἠπείρῳ ὑπαρχός and by his membership in the Second Athenian Naval League; on this language, Franke (1955, 15) notes that “in Epirus” serves only as a geographical locator, not a political statement.

154 Rhodes and Osborne 2003, 92–105 no. 22 ll. 109–10=SVA² 2.257 B13–14; a point made by Cross 1932, 112.

155 Hammond (1967, 539) noted the shared institution of royal pages, and in general the Macedonians and Molossians both had a “heroic kind of monarchy;” the impact on Pyrrhus (1967, 569) is even clearer (cavalry, “friends,” training of the infantry). Cross (1932, 30) speculated that Alexander of Molossia was influenced in a different way, modelling a new *symmachia* of the Epirotes on Philip's League of Corinth.

156 Gauthier 1979, 125.

Molossian kings were benefactors “who had settled or gained a territory” – as Alexander I had – and the monarchy had lasted, and would continue to last, a long time.

III.3. WHAT IF ANYTHING OCCURRED BETWEEN 330 AND 328 BC?

Hammond and Cabanes both argued that in these years, years of crisis brought on by the death of Alexander I (“the Molossian”) in south Italy, there was a major change in Molossia: it continued to be a type of federal *koinon* but expanded its membership, and therefore now called itself “Apeiros” or “those of the Epirotes who are allied.”¹⁵⁷ The conclusion is argued from six different pieces of evidence of varying type, each of which contributes a small but strikingly ambiguous piece of information.

First (1) is a second list of *theorodokoi*, this time from Argos, ca. 330–324 BC.¹⁵⁸ This example of a list of hosts of sacred envoys, envoys who this time came from Argos to announce the festival for (probably) Zeus at Nemea and inscribed the list of their hosts after their return,¹⁵⁹ is in considerably worse shape than the earlier list of Epidaurian envoys. The crucial segment of entries gives the names of the *theorodokoi* for places in the northwest in this geographical order: [Ambr]a[cia], [Ape]iros, [Phoin]ika, [Korku]ra, [Apo]l[l]onia, [–], [–]ura NAI, and [–]a, with “Kleopatra” the name of the *theorodokos* for “Apeiros.”¹⁶⁰ From this Cabanes concluded that “Apeiros” was now a political entity (not a geographical heading, as in the Epidaurian list of 356–355 BC),¹⁶¹ and that it has swallowed up Thesprotia, which is why ‘Thesprotians’ do not appear on this list.¹⁶² Both are problematic conclusions. In three surviving lists of *theorodokoi*, the listing for the people who first appeared in the mid-fourth century as “the Molossians” changed three times in 160 years, from “Molossoi” to “Apeiros” to “Dodona” – but not in ways, as the entry of “Dodona” makes clear, that correlate directly with the name of the political entity when it is known from other sources, since “Dodona” was only the sanctuary at the heart of the entity known, ca. 230–220 BC, as the “Epirote *koinon*” or the “Epirote *ethnos*.”¹⁶³ A one-to-one correspondence of listing, name of actual ‘state,’ and cor-

157 Hammond 1967, 557–63; Cabanes 1976a, 172–83; 1981a; 1989b, 156–8; 1997, 102–3.

158 For a discussion of the dating options, Perlman 2000, 102.

159 Davies 2000, 248.

160 Charneux 1966a and 1966b (*SEG* XXIII.189, Kleopatra col. I l.11); dispute over the fourth place, now resolved as [Korku]ra, see Cabanes 1981b, 107–8 nn.36–8 (noting continuity of *theorodokos* for Korkura=Corcyra between this inscription and a Nemean list, thus necessarily restoring [Korku]ra in fourth place) and 1987b, 26–7 vs. Hammond 1980a, 14–15 and 1980b, 472–3; Davies (2000, 248 no. D5) still follows Hammond. Charneux (1966b, 710–11), following a suggestion by Bousquet, therefore promptly restored line 16 (which was [Kork]ura in the original publication) as [Ἐν Κ]ορυναῖα[ι]; Hammond (1980a, 15) then asked why the envoys would go to Cyrene, so some problems still remain.

161 See above n.147.

162 Cabanes 1976a, 117–20; 1981a, 27–8; 2004, 32 and 34; 2007, 233; S. Funke 2000a, 175 (this is the “only” explanation possible); yet in 1987a, 109 Cabanes in passing called ‘Apeiros’ here “a geographical term.”

163 From “Molossoi” (356–355 BC, *JG* IV² 1.95 l.31) to “Apeiros” (330–324 BC) to “Dodona”

rect identification of type of ‘state’ is therefore not to be expected from this type of inscription. Since “Apeiros” merely means “the inland seen from the sea” (and was so interpreted in the first list, of 356–355, in which it served as a heading under which “Molossoi” was but one entry),¹⁶⁴ “Apeiros” need not imply, in the Argive *theorodokos* list of ca. 330 BC, a new official name for a newly expanded federal state in Molossia. The use of a geographical term might, indeed, suggest political disorder, the best the envoys could think of to describe where they had been: we went inland. And there a member of the royal family – the queen – was still *theorodokos*, which suggests political continuity rather than political change: we went inland, and our *theorodokos* was queen Kleopatra.¹⁶⁵ These lists were created as a way of honoring *theorodokoi*, not to provide an accurate glimpse of properly identified political entities in the various regions of Greece, and the continuity implied by the continued service of members of the royal family as *theorodokoi* is what matters, outweighing any change seemingly implied by a change in the name of political entity or place. The *theorodokos* was royal, the people were Molossian, the area was “Apeiros,” and the unnamed political entity, in both 356/5 and 330, was a kingdom.

Moreover, the absence of ‘Thesprotians’ need not be all that significant. There is no guarantee that lists of *theorodokoi* were always complete lists of states.¹⁶⁶ And

(list in Plassart 1921, 65–7 IV.31; date 230–220 BC, Hatzopoulos 1991). For the first two the political entity has been deduced from the name in the list, but this equivalence does not work in the third case, when we know that the political entity was called “the *koinon* of the Apirotes” (C15) or “Epirotes” (C17), or “the *ethnos* of the Apirotes” (C16; also in an inscription from Magnesia from 206 BC, *I.Magn.* 32 I.42), not anything with Dodona in its title. If the correlation does not work in the one case where it can be tested, it should not be assumed to be valid in the cases where it cannot be tested. Moreover, Will (1977, 191–3) objected to the identification of “Apeiros” as a state, because – if now a state – it should have been called ‘Apeirotai,’ as tribal states were usually identified (and had been identified in the earlier Epidaurian list); he too saw ‘Apeiros’ as merely the designation of an area, as did Papazoglou 1970, 120 and Gauthier 1979, 122. Cabanes noted (1997, 102) that the list of Epidaurian *theorodokoi* listed ‘Chaonia’ for the *ethnos* of the Chaones, and therefore concluded that, in this matter of naming by territory or by ethnic, language in the lists could be imprecise.

164 Franke (1955, 3–30) traces its meanings; Davies 2000, 234, 257; P. Funke *et al.* 2004, 338; see above n.147 for its appearance in *IG IV*² 1.95.

165 As Corsten (1999, 234) notes, the listing of a monarch as *theorodokos* is also a sign of an *Einheitsstaat* (a unitary state), not a *Bundesstaat* (federal state), where each city or area is visited separately.

166 Cabanes (1976a, 117 and 1981a, 31 n.40) argued that these inscriptions were rigorous and all-inclusive itineraries, listing only hosts and locations that were independent political entities (itself an old debate, see summary by Perlman 2000, 32); Charneux (1966a, 168, 233–4) and Gauthier (1979, 126–7) point out the problems with adhering to this view too rigorously, especially in this Argive list, which has some striking and troubling omissions that have occasioned much debate (summarized Perlman 2000, 102–4); moreover, the earlier Epidaurian list had included Corcyra under the heading of “Apeiros,” which was both geographically and politically incorrect, and listed Pandosia and Cassopē side-by-side, when Pandosia was probably a dependency of Cassopē, P. Funke *et al.* 2004, 347. Gauthier (1979, 126) in particular noted that Cabanes’s assumptions might not work for *koina*, which met in different places, while Salmon (1987, 130) warned against arguments from silence, and Hatzopoulos (1996, 1:473 n.4) concluded that only one ethnic state provided a *theorodokos* in the Argive list “not because local communities were entirely deprived of self-government, but because they were not urban cen-

this list of Argive *theorodokoi*, which again could be following the route taken by the envoys, could merely imply that their route was different from the one taken by their Epidaurian counterparts in 356: from Ambracia they headed inland, north into “Apeiros” (i.e. Molossia proper, in the plain of Ioannina), then exited that valley to the northwest and came out at Phoenikē, from which they headed further up the coast. Given that each list of *theorodokoi* is inscribed in a different sanctuary at a different time according to (apparently) different principles and (certainly) with different levels of attention to detail and coherence, it seems especially risky to argue that the absence of certain locations in certain lists must be significant: a classic, but classically perilous, argument from silence.¹⁶⁷

Yet it is true that not ‘Apeiros’ but the word ‘Epirotes’¹⁶⁸ is, at this time, coming to be more common in political contexts, such as (2) Aristotle’s ‘*Politeia* of the Epirotes’ – the title transmitted through Stephanus of Byzantium – from which a single quotation is preserved.¹⁶⁹ If Aristotle wrote about ‘Epirotes’ – and if indeed this was his title – then ‘the Epirotes’ must have had a *politeia* to write about, or so Franke, Hammond, and Cabanes all thought.¹⁷⁰ But Aristotle also wrote about ‘the *politeia* of the Cretans,’ although the Cretans had no ‘state’ and were divided into independent *poleis*.¹⁷¹ And in the *Politics*, assumed to have been based at least in part on the researches embodied in the 158 separate *politeiai*, Aristotle concerned himself not with the ‘Epirote state’ or even the Molossian kingdom, but only with the Molossian kings. Because Aristotle does not seem otherwise to have studied *koina* or confederations, probably because he considered them more closely akin to ‘alliances,’¹⁷² but did study monarchies and ‘kingly states’ like Sparta, it seems more likely that he was interested in Molossia precisely because its form of gov-

tres.” Hammond (1967, 519) was unwilling to assume that even the relatively well-preserved Epidaurian list of 356–311 gave “a complete list of all independent cities or tribes in Epirus.”

167 Different principles: a second-century Delphic list, which gives “Assos, Epidauros, Bouthrotos, Arsinoeia, Ktimenai” (Daux 1949, 28) has abandoned any notion of geographical ‘itinerary.’ A different Delphic list, from 230–220 BC (Plassart 1921, 65–7; with Hammond 1980a, 13–14), lists Dodona (line IV.31) separately from the major northwest list – Argos, Ambracia, Cassopē, Phoenikē, Kemara, Abantia (=Amantia), Dyrrhachium, Poteidania, Amprai – which starts at IV.49. Gauthier (1979, 126) thought the separation might indicate two separate itineraries; it certainly indicates separate inscribing (the list was added to for sixty years).

168 It has been used since the late fifth century without political implications, as Cabanes (1997, 102) also concedes.

169 fr. 494 (Rose); it reports that the Amyntai were a Thesprotian *ethnos*.

170 Franke 1955, 36–7; Hammond 1967, 560; Cabanes 1976a, 172. Cross (1932, 20) thought that Aristotle was writing the *politeia* of the ‘Epirote Symmarchy’ of *SGDI* 1336.

171 *Ar. Pol.* 1271b20 (ἡ δὲ Κρητικὴ πολιτεία): “this must mean the constitution which prevailed in the Cretan cities, for Crete was not gathered into one state,” Newman 1887, 346, and Aristotle’s discussion makes clear that he is interested in certain *habits* of the Cretans, like communal meals.

172 Davies 2000, 238; and *symmachi* were a lesser form of political organization because they aimed at a limited and specific end, and not at “coming together to live well,” *Ar. Pol.* 1280a25–40; Davies also notes (*ibid.*) that the polities that were ‘peoples’ were barely studied or even alluded to by Aristotle; and all these arguments based on Aristotle’s *Politeia* of the Epirotes ultimately depend on a citation that Lévêque (1957b, 214 n.3) referred to as “unique et insignifiante.”

ernment was a non-despotic monarchy. He may have thought, because it may have happened to include another *ethnos* like (one type of) Thesprotian, that ‘Epirotes’ was a more appropriate name for such an entity; or he may have seen that the peoples of this region had common habits and practices, as did the Cretans. So a brief reference to a *Politeia* of the ‘Epirotes’ does not necessarily attest to constitutional change in Molossia/Epirus shortly before Aristotle’s death. (3) A meager coinage series with the legend ‘Apeirotōn’ has been dated to this time – but so dated *because* Aristotle wrote a *Politeia* of the Epirotes, and not on the basis of any independent dating criteria; and recent discoveries have placed the introduction of the ‘of the Apeirotēs’ coinage before 334 BC, that is, before the hypothesized transformation of the Molossian *koinon* into ‘Apeiros’ that supposedly followed upon the death of Alexander I in 331/0.¹⁷³ (4) *SGDI* 1351=no. 1, the manumission already discussed above (p. 35), indicates, according to Cabanes, that the Thesprotians have been, now, fully incorporated as equals into the Molossian political entity. As also shown above, however, Thesprotian witnesses at an international sanctuary do not necessarily demonstrate this at all.

Another item of evidence (5) has inspired the most agile feats of interpretation. According to Hammond and Cabanes, the Molossian *koinon* after 330/328 has not just one new name, ‘Apeiros’ (as in the list of the Argive *theorodokoi*), but two.¹⁷⁴ It is called both ‘Apeiros’ and (by Will’s rendering) “those of the Apirotes who are allied,”¹⁷⁵ for in *SGDI* 1336 (FIGURE 8), dated by king Neoptolemus (II) son of Alexander (I), men identified by this awkward circumlocution grant *ateleia* and *enteleia* “in Apiros” (οἱ σύμμαχοι τῶν Ἀπειρωτῶν ἔδωκαν ἐν Ἀπειρῷ ἀτέλειαν . . . καὶ ἐντέλειαν).

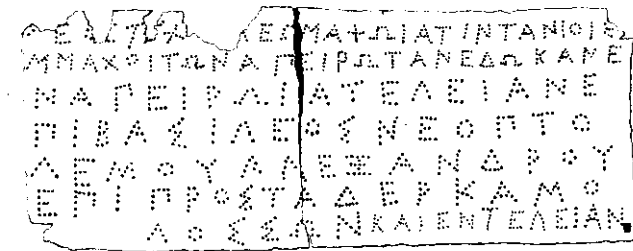


Figure 8. *SGDI* 1336.

173 Older views: Franke 1961, 116; Hammond 1967, 537 and 560; and note Davies’s concerns, 2000, 244. ‘Of the Apirotes’ coinage now before 334: Oikonomidou-Karamesini (1984) dates a coin found at Cassopē specifically a little after 334 but before 332, and deduces that the ‘of the Apirotes’ coinage may have begun after 342 (1984, 42), not after 329; reiterated Oikonomidou-Karamesini 1994, 174; endorsed by Dakaris *et al.* 2001, 153 n.20.

174 Hammond 1967, 559–61; Cabanes 1976a, 176.

175 Franke 1955, 35–6; translated thus (into French) by Will 1977, 190–1. Cabanes also assimilates to this entity those known in a dedication from Dodona (*IG IX*² 1.4.1750) as “the Molossians and their allies” – the “first stage” of the new state (Cabanes 1997, 102–3), finding the difference in the titulature insignificant; or (2005, 150) dates this inscription earlier than *SGDI* 1336 and sees it as attesting an earlier phase of unification. I date *IG IX*² 1.4.1750 later (see below n.202).

Neoptolemus ruled independently between 317 and 312 and again (if the same king) between 302 and 297 BC.¹⁷⁶ By this time, then, the federal political entity that had been ‘Molossia’ or the *koinon* of the Molossians had been (Hammond and Cabanes argued) transformed into an entity known to itself and outsiders as ‘Apeiros’ or ‘the Epirote alliance.’ Such an alliance had first been constructed by Alexander I to further his own ambitions on the Italian expedition and at that point had consisted of Molossians and others; time and necessity were transforming an alliance constructed for external conquest into a state.¹⁷⁷ Yet its particulars are unknown: the major difference between Cabanes’s ‘*koinon* of the Molossians’ and this ‘Epirote Alliance’ seems to be its membership – its incorporation, in 330–328 BC, of Thesprotians on the semi-equal (i.e. federal) basis suggested by his (over-)interpretation of *SGDI* 1351 (=no. 1), followed later, perhaps in the first decade of the third century, by its incorporation of the Chaonians.¹⁷⁸

But *SGDI* 1336, with its dating by king Neoptolemus II, is an unlikely witness to the creation of a new form of ‘state’ organization. ‘Apirotes’ should have been the granters of the privileges, had there been a new state called ‘Apeiros.’ Moreover, the natural translation of the phrase οἱ σύμμαχοι τῶν Ἀπειρωτῶν is “the allies of the Apirotes,” not “those of the Apirotes who are allied.” The unnatural translation was suggested and endorsed because it was assumed that the granting of *ateleia* and *enteleia* (“freedom from taxes” and “tax-status in economic matters equivalent to that of inhabitants”)¹⁷⁹ had to be prerogatives of the ‘state’ and that these Epirotes were (therefore) a ‘state.’ Perhaps, however, the logic should be reversed, that is, because “the allies of the Apirotes” grant *ateleia* and *enteleia*, then *ateleia* and *enteleia* are in this context and at this moment war-related; in any case, their granting was not, in fact, the prerogative of ‘states’ alone.¹⁸⁰ Kleomachus, the recipient of these privileges, has been helpful, perhaps providing financial assistance in a military venture of the allies, and in turn the allies of the Apirotes grant him financial privileges – not, note, a political and religious privilege like citizenship (*politeia*). That might also explain why the privileges apply ἐν Ἀπείρῳ “in Apeiros,” surely a

176 Or, such is the state of our knowledge, may be two different members of the Aeacid house, the first ruling 317–312 and the second ruling (as sole king) 302–297: see Cross 1932, 106–8 and Cabanes 1981a, 28–9.

177 Hammond 1967, 557–63. Thus, for example, in 330 BC ‘Epirus’ to Hammond (1980a, 19) still meant only “the territory of the allied tribal states of the moment,” and even though (1967, 537) the “autonomous” Molossian state was absorbed into the Epirote Alliance by 325 BC, ‘Epirus’ in *SGDI* 1336 was “in this sense . . . coterminous with the territory of the allies” (1967, 561).

178 Chaonians were added by 300 BC in Cabanes 1981a, 30 (but see below n.289). S. Funke (2000a, 178 n.326 and 209 n.466) disputes this addition of the Chaonians, claiming that the Macedonians, so powerful in Molossia at this time, would never have countenanced it. Hammond (1967, 560 and 562–3) had thought that the difference between the *koinon* of the Molossians, “the Molossians and their allies,” and “those of the Epirotes who are allied” was “power politics” – that the last alliance was constructed to maintain the independence of the allies and restrain the Molossians.

179 Chaniotis 1986.

180 *Enteleia* is a very rare grant, and always appears with *ateleia* (Chaniotis 1986); and *ateleia* need not imply a state, since (for example) the *hieromnemes* at Delphi (who are not a state) can confer it in the third century, see (e.g.) *CID* 4.12, 24, and 39.

geographical rather than political use of the term, and appropriately found in conjunction with this kind of privilege. When other grants of privilege from Dodona specify where they are to run, they are also these tax benefits, or *enktesis* (the capacity to own land), or *asphaleia* (“safety”), or *asylia* (“protection”) – although these privileges can also be granted without geographical indicators.¹⁸¹ Rather than see the phrase οἱ σύμμαχοι τῶν Ἀπειρωτῶν as reflecting an important constitutional change expressed in language never seen again, and also inappropriate for describing internal political arrangements,¹⁸² it would be better to take the language for what it is: allies (of a group *they* see as “Apeirotes”) for some reason exercising what are usually assumed to be, but do not have to be, the rights of a ‘state,’ and granting economic privileges in a territory rather than a state. However the phrase “of the Apeirotes” is to be explained here (see below p. 74), *SGDI* 1336 is a testament not to a new form of ‘state,’ but to the views and actions of outsiders, and thus to the weaknesses of Molossia and its king.¹⁸³

Nonetheless, some literary evidence (6) has also been interpreted as demonstrating that a new ‘state’ has been created. In the midst of, first, uneasiness and then tumult following Alexander I’s death – tumult because not only Argive sacred envoys, but also Olympias the mother of Alexander the Great visited Molossia, the latter for a prolonged and meddlesome stay – the account of Diodorus has been taken to suggest that, in 317, an Epirote federal state was making decisions, a state that must have come into existence in 330–328. Olympias, feuding with Antipater in Macedon before and after the death of Alexander the Great, engineered the recall of King Arybbas II of Molossia in 323.¹⁸⁴ The Molossians fought with him during the Lamian War, accepted Aeacides his son as king after Arybbas’s death, drove him out, perhaps suffered direct Macedonian overlordship under Cassander’s *strategos* Lyciscus, accepted Alcetas II as king, put him and his two sons to death, accepted

181 Not specifying area: C1 (*politeia*), C3 (*proxenia*, *politeia*, *enktesis*, *ateleia*, *enteleia*, *asylia*, and *asphaleia*), *SGDI* 1341 (*proxenia*, ?[*asylia*], *asphaleia*, and [*ateleia*]; but incomplete), C6 (*ateleia*]; but incomplete), *SGDI* 1334 (*isopoliteia*), *SGDI* 1335 (*politeia*), *SGDI* 1337 ([*iso*]*politeia*; but incomplete), *SGDI* 1343 (*politeia*; but incomplete), *SGDI* 1344 (*politeia*), C16 (*proxenia*, *politeia*, *asphaleia*, *enteleia*), C34 (*politeia*, *enktesis*, *ateleia*, *enteleia*; but incomplete), *SGDI* 1338, and *SGDI* 1339. I have restored C2 as offering *ateleia*, *enteleia*, and *enktesis* “in all Molossia” ([ἐν] παντὶ Μολότοι, see below pp. 102–3); C33, from the Epirote *koinon*, specifies ἔγκτασιν ἐν Ἀπείροι; and the very last grant of privileges known, from 130–129, grants *enktesis*, *asphaleia* and *asylia* . . . and *ateleia* and *enteleia* ἐν παντὶ Μολότοι as well (*SEG* LVII.510= Tziafalias and Helly 2007, 429 ll.69–70).

182 Cabanes (1981a, 29–30 and 2004, 39–41) concedes that *sympoliteia* would have been a better name for a state (at 1981a, 30–1 and 2004, 40–1 he suggests that the peculiar language arises from Chaonia having now become a *symmachos* of the other Epirotes), and (in 1996c, 199) admits that *symmachia* is not appropriate for a federal state; at (2001, 376) Cabanes calls this phrase a “provisional title,” “intermediate” between the *koinon* of the Molossians and the *koinon* of the Epirotes. S. Funke (2000a, 177–9) also emphasizes the unsuitability of *symmachia* language for describing the internal arrangements of a state.

183 *Contra* Larsen 1968, 277, who concluded that the state was “strong and centralized” because it must have controlled “imports and exports” (for only thus could it grant exemptions from the duties associated therewith).

184 Justin-Trogus 7.6.12, with Hammond 1967, 561.

Pyrrhus as king, and then drove out him and his supporters in fear of Cassander in 302 BC.¹⁸⁵ After Pyrrhus's restoration in 297, they – the Molossians – worked in concert with him again. Troubled times, to be sure. Were they even more complicated than this? Diodorus attributed most of these actions not to the Molossians themselves but to “the Epirotes,” and in particular attributed the expulsion of Aeacides in 317 to a “common decree (κοινὸν δόγμα) of the Epirotes,” made after troops that had declined to fight for Aeacides went back to their homelands (εἰς τὰς πατρίδας).¹⁸⁶ This, said Hammond, was “the earliest dated mention of the Epirote Alliance;” Susanne Funke considers it conclusive evidence that a federal representative structure of ‘Apiros’ existed, one in which local *koina* reported to a larger Epirote “board or assembly [at which the major tribes were represented] headed by a typical federal magistrate,” and which made all major decisions.¹⁸⁷ But were Epirotes making decisions about Molossian kings, and is this quotation correctly interpreted as attesting a federal structure with federal decision-making powers?

Diodorus's use of the term “Epirotes” has long been known to be incapable of sustaining close constitutionalist reading: he uses “Epirote” language to refer even to Olympias's father, Neoptolemus I, and starts to use it consistently after 340 – but only because his source changed, not because Molossia at that time underwent a profound political change.¹⁸⁸ Plutarch, on the other hand, identifies the agents of these actions as “the Molossians,” and he is more likely to be correct. For although he and Diodorus both probably used Hieronymus of Cardia as a source, Plutarch also relied on Proxenus, Pyrrhus's court historian and the author of an *Epeirotika*, and Proxenus is more likely to have gotten these internal matters straight.¹⁸⁹ In Plutarch's version, ‘Epirotes’ are important because they are enthusiastic for Pyrrhus, but are contrasted with the Molossians, who make the dramatic decisions that involved the kings.¹⁹⁰ This is also likely to be historically more accurate, since the

185 Arybbas II with Molossians and his death, Diod. 18.11.1; Aeacides, Diod. 19.11.2 and 36.2; expulsion, Diod. 19.36.3–4; Lyciscus, Diod. 19.36.5; Alcetas II, Diod. 19.88.1–89.1; Pyrrhus, Plut. *Pyrrh.* 3.3.

186 Diod. 19.36.3–4 (κοινὸν δόγμα), 88.1 (“the Epirotes” gave, παρέδωκαν, kingship to Alcetas II), and 19.89.3 (they murdered, κατέσφαξαν, Alcetas and his two sons); followed by Paus. 1.11.3.

187 Diod. 19.36.4; Hammond 1967, 559; S. Funke 2000a, 193 and 2000b, 110: she also translates *patrides* as “constituent states,” and Hammond (1967, 562) thought the soldiers went home to their *koina*.

188 Diod. 19.51.6 (“Neoptolemus, king of the Epirotes,” father of Olympias, in an obituary for Olympias); after 340, Diodorus uses “Molossians” only once, at 18.11.1. Franke (1955, 49) noted that Diodorus changed from “Molossian” to “Epirote” language ca. 340 BC – but because his source, Ephorus, has come to an end, and he must find new ones; his usage must therefore be source-related and not independent testimony to the name or nature of the state after 330 BC.

189 Hammond (1967, 559 and 561–2) thought Diodorus's new source by book 19 was the reliable Hieronymus of Cardia, as did S. Funke (2000a, 200 n.425). Cataldi (1990, 182) argued also for Proxenus, and Franke, after an exhaustive consideration of these issues, had also concluded (1955, 69) that Plutarch was the more accurate source here.

190 Plut. *Pyrrh.* 2.1 (factions arose among “the Molossians,” and they drive out Aeacides); *Pyrrh.* 4.1 (“the Molossians” drove out Pyrrhus's supporters and reinstated Neoptolemus); “Epiros” and the “Epirotes” are, by contrast, especially the wider area, and the powerful people, who

kings were kings of the Molossoi, not kings of the Epirotes, and such decisions were the Molossians' to make.

The κοινὸν δόγμα is also Diodorus's language. He does not, however, write τὸ δόγμα τοῦ κοινοῦ, "the decision of the *koinon*," but κοινὸν δόγμα, "the common decision." In other words, this language cannot be pressed hard for a technical constitutionalist meaning either: it means "the decision taken in common," a communal decision taken after the troops had returned to "their homes" (πατρίδας).¹⁹¹ Yet Plutarch's briefer but probably better version implies the opposite of even this much, for in his telling the Molossians fall into faction and drive out Aeacides: there is no "common" decision, but instead one group gets the upper hand and uses that advantage to drive out the king.¹⁹² Moreover, Aeacides did not accept this decision, and reinstalled himself, with the help of an army, four years later.¹⁹³ Pyrrhus, in a similar position in 302 – his friends driven out and his own possessions plundered by Molossians loyal to, or afraid of, Cassander when Pyrrhus was in Illyria for the wedding of his foster-brother – similarly did not accept that decision, and returned at the head of an army five years later.¹⁹⁴ Only in the latter case was it even said that the Molossians "united" (συστάντες): both kings were exiled as a consequence of Molossian factional politics and the power and influence of the Macedonians, and both came back with armies to recapture what they deemed rightfully theirs. Indeed, the Molossians even before 330/328 had probably never voted to exile a king. Alceatas I, whose story in Diodorus book 15 picks up only when he is already in exile in Syracuse in 385 BC, comes back with an army of Syracusans and Illyrians, inflicts huge casualties on the Molossians, and is restored (with the help or at least acquiescence of the Spartans, most likely) nonetheless; Arybbas II was driven out by Philip II of Macedon, not by the Molossians – and he too came back, but at the request of Olympias.¹⁹⁵ The Molossians themselves seem to have been truly dissatisfied with

are enthusiastic for Pyrrhus's return (5.1; Hatzopoulos (1996, 1:323) thinks these must be the same as the "board of officials" named *damiorgoi* etc.) and for his dreams of conquest, which Neoptolemus might have impeded (5.7); they are those who subsequently fight with Pyrrhus (7.5, 12.7) and nickname him "the eagle" (10.1). S. Funke concluded (2000a, 200 n.425) that Plutarch was mistaken and "did not differentiate" between Molossians and Epirotes, but, given the evidence, this must be a mis-statement. Cross (1932, 45) notes that even if Aeacides had been voted out by the 'Epirotes,' he "can hardly have lost his Molossian crown without a popular vote of the Molossians also."

191 *Contra* S. Funke 2000b, 110, who considers both *koinon dogma* and *patrides* "*termini technici* . . . indisputably based on Hieronymos of Kardia." Most of her other evidence for the federal state (2000b, 112–20; also 2000a, 192–204) is of 'Epirote' actions for which no federal deliberation can be proved; it is her interpretation of Diod. 19.36.4 that (for her) establishes the likelihood that the later (and, indeed, earlier) actions are 'federal.'

192 Plut. *Pyrrh.* 2.1 (στασιάσαντες οἱ Μολοσσοὶ καὶ τὸν Αἰακίδην ἐκβαλόντες).

193 Aeacides seized the kingdom, Diod. 19.74.3 (he had returned, εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν κατεληλυθότα, and had collected a strong army, δύναμιν ἄδραν συνηθροικότα; although Paus. 1.11.4 claimed that Aeacides had received the Epirotes' forgiveness).

194 Plut. *Pyrrh.* 4.1 (συστάντες ἐξέβαλον τοὺς φίλους αὐτοῦ . . . καὶ Νεοπτολέμῳ παρέδωκαν ἑαυτούς); according to Hammond 1967, 568, "Cassander . . . expelled Pyrrhus in 302." Five years later, Paus. 1.6.8, 1.11.5 (helped by Ptolemy of Egypt); at that point the Molossians "draw him in" (κατάγουσιν, Paus. 1.11.5).

195 Arybbas II, driven out by Philip II, [Dem.] 7 *Hal.* 32, "grew old in exile," Justin-Trogus 7.6.12

only one of their kings, Alcetas II (who had been exiled once before, but by his own father) – and him they murdered “for treating the people harshly.”¹⁹⁶ While murder of a king (and his two sons) could have occurred in the heat of the moment, ‘harsh treatment of the people’ seems like exactly the sort of transgression for which the employment of constitutional machinery, not murder, would have been most appropriate. In all these anecdotes of dissatisfaction and exile – Aeacides, Pyrrhus, Alcetas I, Arybbas II, Alcetas II – there is only one weak suggestion of constitutional action, even when (as when Alcetas II treated the people harshly) it might have been expected; all the other stories refer only to faction and force. This suggests that a vote for exile, along with the constitutional machinery to produce it, was not an option, and that we should follow the preponderance of the evidence, preferring Plutarch’s version to Diodorus’s the one time such machinery is even implied.

The evidence for constitutional change in the Molossian ‘state’ between 330 and 328 is therefore poor, and most of it more readily suggests chaos, confusion, or weakness in the Molossian kingdom than it does a remodelling, strengthening, or extension of a Molossian federal *koinon*. Constitutional change tracked through institutional transformations thus shows itself to be a poor backbone on which to build early Molossian and Epirote history. This is true not only because the evidence for it is so exiguous, but indeed because it is the wrong backbone. Yet despite the lack of compelling evidence for changes in a federal state in the last third of the fourth century BC, changes of an important type were occurring – at an entirely different level.

III.4. EPIROTE AND MOLOSSIAN IDENTITY IN THE LATE FOURTH AND EARLY THIRD CENTURIES

Those last thirty years of the fourth century were hard times indeed for the kingdom: meddled with by neighbors to the east and to the north, it risked losing its independence to the Macedonians, and with it any sense of what it might have meant to be Molossian or Epirote. What may have saved it were the allies to the west and southwest, the alliance first constructed by Alexander I, sworn to at Passaron, and holding firm in these disastrous years, especially when the Molossian kings were children, or harsh and violent, or, in the case of Neoptolemus II, son of Alexander I (317–312 and probably 302–297), all of the above.¹⁹⁷ It was this partnership of king and self-respecting allies that most likely permitted the Molossians themselves to survive these years of hardship,¹⁹⁸ and emerge with a much better sense

(although Treves (1942) argued that *consenuit* meant “grew old and died”); or possibly another Arybbas of the royal house, discussed Cabanes 1976a, 116); recalled by Olympias, Justin-Trogus 7.6.12; the Arybbas of 323 then died in the Lamian War, Diod. 18.11.1. Alcetas I, Diod. 15.13.1–3.

196 Alcetas II exiled by his father (Diod. 19.88.1) for his vile temper (Paus. 1.11.5); later the “Epirotes . . . took him back” (κατεδέξαντο, Paus. 1.11.5).

197 At the time of *SGDI* 1336 he was also sole king, thus either 317–314 or 302–297. In his latter manifestation he treated people harshly and violently (χαλεπῶς καὶ βιαίως, Plut. *Pyrrh.* 5.1).

198 This view of Molossians and ‘Epirotes’ corresponds well with what Franke (1955, 48, but writ-

of themselves in the early third century. From troubled times, therefore, one good outcome: from chaos and weakness at the end of the century would come, as will be seen, a Molossian *koinon* – not a federal state, but a sense of “community” that was simultaneously Molossian and Epirote. This sense of dual or nested identities can be tracked through both regal and epigraphical terminology and the coinage of the region in the late fourth and early third centuries.

This duality seems to have begun with Pyrrhus, king from 307 to 302 and then again from 297 to 272. He called himself Pyrrhus the king and Pyrrhus of Molossia;¹⁹⁹ others, however, knew him as Pyrrhus of Epirus, both outsiders (like the Romans) and authors of subsequent literary accounts of his adventures and his achievements, although only the latter used the Epirote terminology consistently.²⁰⁰ A similar duality marks the characterization of the peoples Pyrrhus led. Thus some outsiders identified themselves as “allies of the Apeirotes” at the end of the fourth century (in *SGDI* 1336, above pp. 67–9), while in a dedication an outsider appealed, poetically, to “the Molossians and their allies” in the first decade of the third.²⁰¹ For that decade was most likely the moment²⁰² when a Zacynthian *proxenos* “of the

ing before the publication of C1, C2, and C3) and Hammond (1967, 557–93) thought were the actualities of the situation between ca. 330 and 232: the Molossian king was the hegemon of a wider Epirote alliance, with the term ‘Epirote’ enjoying more of a military and geographical significance than a political one; Hammond (1967, 563) summarizes the advantages that alliance gave “the Epirote tribes.”

199 Pyrrhus seems to have called himself (only) “king” twice in the surviving evidence: *SGDI* 1368, restored as “[Kin]g Pyrrhu[s and] the Epir[o]tes and T[arentines]” (see above n.39, with Bringmann and von Steuben 1995, 1.172–3 no. 107; ca. 279 BC); and “king” in *BE* 1969.347 (see above n.39, with Bringmann and von Steuben 1995, 1.174 no. 108; ca. 274 BC). The Lindos chronicle (see Marchetti 1992, 55 n.25 for literature) also referred to him as “king Pyrrhus,” as did an honorific inscription from Kallipolis (*SGDI* 1369=*IG* IX² 1.154=*Syll.*³ 369; in it, his father is also “king Aeacides”). He also called himself “the Molossian” (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 26.5=Bringmann and von Steuben 1995, 1.169–70 no. 105 [with other literary references], a dedication at the sanctuary of Athena Itonia). Cabanes (1987a, 109–10; 1997, 103; *SEG* XLVII.823) has published another third-century bronze fragment from Dodona in which only the words [β]ασιλεύς and [Α]πειρωτᾶ[ν] occur, on two separate lines, from which not much more than the coexistence of the two entities in the third century can be deduced (he speculates, however, that line two might be [καὶ τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀ]πειρωτᾶ[ν]).

200 Outsider’s perspective, Plut. *Pyrrh.* 18.1 (used by the Romans), and, e.g., Polybius, who calls Pyrrhus “the king” (1.23.4) and “the Epirote” (8.26.1, 12.25k.2) – and, once, “king of the Epirotes” (fr. 16), although this last is “not necessarily a verbal quotation from Polybius” (Hammond 1967, 571). This ‘outsider’ terminology is a plausible origin for the terminology of later historical authors, and is one form of influence on Diodorus (see Franke 1955, 3, 24 n.109: Alexander I was referred to as “the Epirote” in Diod. 16.91.4, although to Aeschines 3 *Ctes.* 242 and Aristotle fr. 614 [Rose] he was ὁ Μολοττός), and Pausanias, who always refers to “Epirus” and “the Epirotes” when speaking of Pyrrhus (1.11.1–5): Franke 1955, 25–7, 48–9, and 53–4; see also Gauthier 1979, 125.

201 “The Molossians and their allies” in *IG* IX² 1.4.1750=Carapanos 1878a, 39–40 no. 1 and pl. XXII; Cabanes 1981a, 36 no. 4; *SEG* L.543 and LIII.570; Dieterle 2007, 89–90 (drawing) and 380 F604.

202 Hammond (1967, 534–5) thought this dedication should date to the time of Alexander I’s adventures in south Italy, and for other fourth- and third-century suggestions see Cabanes 1976a, 175–6, 1981a, 26, 2004, 35, and 2007, 234 (he himself equates “the Molossians and their

Molossians and their allies throughout thirty generations since the days of Troy, the race of Cassandra” made a gift of a beautifully lettered plaque in Dodona,²⁰³ emphasizing (thereby) the Trojan line of descent of both the Zacynthian *proxenoi* and the Molossians – previously attributed by legend to (only) the Molossian kings – from brothers of Priam’s daughter Cassandra.²⁰⁴ Thereafter, others (including even those following Pyrrhus) saw (and considered themselves members of) an alliance of Epirotes.²⁰⁵ For the king is Molossian, and seen as Epirote; the Molossians are both Molossian and Epirote, are seen as both, and are coming to see themselves as both; neighbors and allies see themselves, under certain circumstances, as Epirote as well; and those even more distant, in space and time, see Epirotes more than Molossians. The king is at the heart of Molossia, while Molossia is at the heart of Epirus, not by conquest but by alliance; the tribal and the geographical overlap and merge, with no implication of political change.

This multiplicity of perspectives and of perceived affiliations and identities – kingly, Molossian, Epirote – as well as their nested nature may help to explain the confusing multiplicity of coinages in the region, but especially within Molossia itself. It was already noted above that ‘Epirote Symmachy’ coinage of-

allies” with the allies of *SGDI* 1336: 2001, 376–7; but as Fraser (2003, 27 n.4) notes [citing Papazoglou], because the reference in *IG IX*² 1.4.1750 is poetic and its chronological reference vague, this cannot tell us anything about the date or current existence of any alliance). Fraser (2003, 26–7) dated *IG IX*² 1.4.1750 to the last third of the fourth century (although on p. 34 this has become the mid-fourth century) because such a date is “certainly appropriate” – the *koinon* of the Molossians “was then in control of Dodona” (!). But if the standard rule of thumb, thirty years per generation, can be applied to the enthusiastic hyperbole of this inscription, then the dedicator is saying, “*proxenoi* for nine hundred years” – and so made the dedication after 300 BC, if he were ‘calculating’ from Eratosthenes of Cyrene’s traditional date of the fall of Troy in 1184. Pyrrhus acquired Corcyra and (probably) Leukas through his marriage to Lanassa in 295 BC (Diod. 21.4, Plut. *Pyrrh.* 9.1; Lévêque 1957b, 124–5), and allied with the Acarnanians subsequently; this would have made 295–290 a propitious moment for nearby Zacynthians to remind the Molossians that their relationship went back many, many centuries.

- 203 The letters are large and closely spaced. All alphas have straight bars, pi has a short second hasta, all omegas are large and on the line (one, line 5, a little pinched in at the bottom), and the only unusual letter is Ξ, which is bisected by a vertical line, as it is in both *SGDI* 1336 and a third-century query to the oracle (Lhôte 2006 no. 53 Bb). Carapanos (1878a, 39) remarked, without explanation, that the letter-forms belonged in the fourth century, but the closest epigraphic parallels are early third century.
- 204 For translation and discussion see Fraser 2003; two brothers (Agathon and Helenus), at 36–7. Eur. *Andr.* 1247–8 had Andromache take her small (unnamed) son (only later in the tradition identified as Molossus) to the Molossians, so at the end of the fifth century the Molossians were still, mythologically speaking, of separate descent from that of the Molossian royal house; Molossus himself is not named until Eratosthenes of Cyrene (*FGrH* 241 F42) in the second half of the third century BC, but even there he is still the ancestor of the royal house, not of the Molossians themselves (τὸ γένος . . . τῶν ἐν Μολοσσίᾳ βασιλέων).
- 205 Particularly if members of the alliance also started to see themselves that way, as in the dedication *SGDI* 1368, above n.39 (“King Pyrrhus, the Epirotes, and the Tarentines”) – written, as Franke (1955, 62 n.27) noted, in *koinē*, not in dialect, so inscribed by a non-native even if told what to write; Franke thought it was inscribed in S. Italy and sent to Dodona. It is implied, too, by the fragmentary *SEG* XLVII.823 (with [β]ασιλεύς and [Α]πειρωτᾶ[ν], see above n.199), also a third-century inscription from Dodona.

ferred no independent proof of the date, or even of the creation, of the (supposed) new ‘state’ of ‘Apeiros,’²⁰⁶ since the only secure stratigraphic context in which it has been found dates at least one of these issues before 334 BC.²⁰⁷ But why do the ‘Molossian’ (after 375 BC),²⁰⁸ the ‘Apeirote’ (before 334 BC),²⁰⁹ and the regal coinages all overlap chronologically and stylistically?²¹⁰ For two kings, Alexander I and Pyrrhus, minted their own (quite copious) coinage as well – issues found mostly in south Italy, and probably minted to pay mercenary soldiers²¹¹ – at a time when, simultaneously, ‘Molossian’ and ‘Apeirote’ coinages were also minted or in

206 End 330 BC, Franke 1961, 91, an historical rather than stratigraphic judgment, 1961, 89.

207 A new find at Cassopē suggests an earlier dating for the ‘of the Apeirates’ issues (above n.173), sometime after 342; the two coinages (“of the Molossians” and “of the Apeirates”) thus overlap.

208 Franke’s observation (1961, 88) that Molossian silver coinage (his Groups I-II) starts on an Athenian metrological (and iconographical) standard led him to hypothesize an origin in the early fourth century; its meagerness and short duration (only three coins are known!) point to the Molossians’ difficulty in accessing sources of silver (89). Hammond (1967, 543–4) argued that a starting point after 375 BC was more plausible, and attributed the gap in Group III (the first in the bronze coinage) to a moment (350–342) when Macedonian coinage replaced Molossian in Molossia. Dakaris (1967 [1969] 43–4 and pl. 318) found a new type of ‘Molossian’ bronze coin (with the monogram MOΛ) in an undated context; its thematic parallels, and those of another also found in the excavations of the *bouleuterion*, are to the earliest Molossian silver groups, which Dakaris dates to the late fifth century, Dakaris 1980a and 1980b.

209 Franke (1961, 121) distinguishes the Epirote ‘Symmachie’ and Epirote ‘*koinon*’ coinages on the basis of the letter-form of the Π, which in all but the last of the ‘Epirote Symmachie’ groups has a short second hasta; those of the *koinon* have a long second hasta, and additionally there are names or monograms of the officials responsible for minting in the latter.

210 And they do share types: Lévêque (1957b, 211) noted the “striking resemblances” between the Molossian and ‘Symmachie’ issues, which extended to the use of the same design with different mottos; Franke’s Group I of the Epirote ‘Symmachie’ (trad. 330–300 BC) uses the same reverse as Molossian Group IV (Franke 1961, 117), although some of the Epirote issues are “sloppier” (“viel unregelmässiger”); Franke (1955, 82) thought this closeness a sign of the Molossian *koinon*’s “hegemony within the alliance.” ‘Symmachie’ Group II shares obverses with obverses of Pyrrhus’s coinage (1961, 118–19), and Groups III and VII-XI have close stylistic resemblances as well (1961, 120). Franke assumes that the latter are contemporaneous with Pyrrhus; if they are, then the Epirote ‘Symmachie’ I and Molossian Group IV should be contemporaneous with each other too. Moreover, these groups of the ‘Symmachie’ with close ties to Pyrrhus’s coinage comprise 123 coins (of the 176 total: 69.8%), which suggests that Pyrrhus himself might have inspired or encouraged the local bronze coinage, and that the minting of bronze coins might have been very intermittent. Molossian, ‘Symmachie,’ and Epirote *koinon* coins also appear together in a small hoard or burial from Dodona, Franke 1961, 146 (Noe no. 333).

211 Coinage of Alexander I, Vlasto 1926 (fifty-eight gold and silver, six bronze; all minted in perhaps four or five years); Pyrrhus, Borba Florenzano 1992; and also found in Macedonia, Franke 1961, 267. Alexander minted in south Italy after campaigning and taking huge booty in Lucania, see Livy 8.24.1–6 and the narrative in Holloway 1969, 133–4; Alexander had come to south Italy with only fifteen ships (Ar. frag. 614 [Rose]), thus perhaps 1500–2000 men of his own, and needed to attract more men to his side (Franke 1955, 83). Pyrrhus certainly minted in Italy as well as in Macedonia (whence also some of his coins), where he fought with Epirotes but also with Gallic mercenaries (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 26.2), see Borba Florenzano 1992, 223; his coins have also been found at Phoenixē (Gjongecaj 2002, 133–4; 2007, 167), Diaporit (near Buthrotum; Moorhead *et al.* 2007, 79), and Cassopē (Oeconomides 1990, 270).

circulation in Molossia.²¹² Indeed, Alexander and Pyrrhus may also have minted in Epirus itself.²¹³ It seems thus increasingly unlikely that the kings' right to mint was circumscribed – that, as Franke and others have held, the fourth-century state was a sovereign federal *koinon* and the third-century one a larger federal league or a federation of allies, *and* that only *koinon* or federation could mint.²¹⁴ It is far more likely that kings and *ethnos* could all mint – just as in Macedon²¹⁵ – and that the issues at home in Molossia from 375 to 232 found their chief *raison d'être* in the minor needs of the sanctuary of Dodona more than in any pressing economic concerns or policies.²¹⁶ For both the “of the Molossians” and the “of the Apeirotes” issues are strikingly unimpressive, being only in bronze, few in number, and enjoying only a local (almost entirely Molossian) circulation.²¹⁷ The “of the Apeirotes”

212 Contemporaneity: Franke 1961, 89–91, 252–8.

213 Holloway (1969, 135–6) argued that Alexander minted in Epirus before crossing to Italy; Pyrrhus, Borba Florenzano 1992.

214 Franke 1961, 89, 119, 250, 262; S. Funke 2000a, 14, 157 (it is “ohne Zweifel . . . dass die Münzhoheit im Besitz der föderalen Sphäre war”), 176, 180 n.334, 206–7.

215 Hatzopoulos 1996, 1:261–4.

216 Despite Hammond 1994a, 438 (the minting of bronze showed “superior economic strength” in the fourth century; at (1967, 551) he had argued that coins were minted “to improve the system of exchange within Epirus and indirectly to increase her power to export goods” – while admitting that there was no monetary economy, 637), it is difficult to see any ‘economic policy’ at work here. To the extent that coinage was needed for exchange, other bronze coinages – of Corcyra and Ambracia in particular – could be, and probably were, used; they are found in considerable numbers at Phoenikē (fifty-five Corcyrean and thirty from Ambracia, dating from the fourth and third centuries, Gjongecaj 2002, 133–4 and 138; 2005, 161 and 170–1; 2007, 168); at Cassopē (Ambracian 21.72% of the total, most from third and second centuries, Oikonomidou-Karamesini 1994, 174); and are dominant in Epirus overall from the third to first centuries, (727/1651, or 44% of the total number found, Oeconomides 1990, 264–8; also Oikonomidou 1994). Corinthian money has also been found in considerable quantities in two hoards in the area (270 coins, Gjongecaj 2002, 135). Nielsen (2002, 142–52) has convincingly argued instead for the importance of ‘festival’ coinages, in his case a fifth-century Arcadian ‘festival’ coinage struck to finance the festival and games associated with the sanctuary of Lykaian Zeus, and has noted also the parallels with the issues struck by the Delphic amphictyony.

217 Franke (1961, 99–106) listed 107 “of the Molossians” bronze coins (only three silver coins survive), of which only eight were found outside Molossia, and concluded (1961, 98) that “[d]er Umlaufsbereich dieser Münzen war also im wesentlichen auf Epirus beschränkt;” five more have now been found at Phoenikē (Gjongecaj 2005, 168; 2007, 168–9). At (1961, 125–33) Franke listed 176 coins of the Epirote ‘Symmachie.’ As Hammond (1967, 637) and S. Funke (2000b, 111 n.19) note, the Epirote ‘Symmachie’ emissions are also only in bronze and few in number: these coins “were of only regional importance” – as Franke himself had noted, 1961, 125; one has now been found at Amantia, two at Apollonia (Gjongecaj 1984, 125), and four more at Phoenikē (Gjongecaj 2005, 168; 2007, 169). Both coinages were also probably minted at the same mint, either at Dodona (where the later mint of the *koinon* of the Epirotes was), or Passaron (Franke 1961, 118). The Arcadian festival coinage was comparatively more impressive, since this was a small-denomination (triobol and obol) silver coinage and there were three separate die-sequences and at least 312 types (see Williams 1965, 65–120); but here there were also games and perhaps even cash prizes and Nielsen (2002, 151) thinks this “rather large coinage” the consequence of “a regularly occurring event such as the prestigious games of an important divinity.”

coinage was always outnumbered even at Dodona itself by coins of Pyrrhus.²¹⁸ Even the later *koinon* of the Epirotes (after 232), which minted much more copiously in both silver and bronze, is now thought to have minted only irregularly, and chiefly in response to overwhelming military need: in preparation for, and during, war, in 171–167 BC.²¹⁹

If the minting of bronze coins by ‘the Molossians’ or ‘the Apeirotes’ was not a exclusive constitutionalist statement of *ethnos* or federal ‘rights’ and sovereignty – itself a concept already challenged by J. K. Davies²²⁰ – then the coexistence of these two types of coinages is more explicable: whether struck with one legend or the other, it simply did not matter very much. Where is the new ‘state’ here? Where is the old one? Neither is asserting itself through a low-level bronze coinage, which may instead have been minted only to serve the minimal economic needs of the Molossian-Epirote sanctuary of Dodona. Rather, legends on the bronze coinages reflect, at best, mixed types of self-identification: Molossians after 340 BC see themselves as both Molossians and Apeirotes, mint coins with exactly the same types using both legends (more of the latter over time, starting with the reign of Pyrrhus), relentlessly use images associated with the sanctuary of Zeus at all times, and certainly use coins stamped in the two ways at the same time. Only war necessitated minting in higher denominations and numerically significant issues. As a consequence, even as the focus on Dodona and the consciousness of themselves as both Molossians and Epirotes were growing by 300 BC, it was always the kings who minted the more beautiful, the more valuable, and the more copious coinage: kings and their coined money were the most outstanding products of Molossia before 232.

A double identity strongly influenced and shaped by kings is an identity nonetheless, and it is possible that the long, traumatic episode of the last thirty years of the fourth century contributed to its strengthening. Although Diodorus’s assertion of a specific “*koinon dogma* of the Epirotes” to exile Aeacides in 317 is (I have argued) not a *dogma* of the *koinon*, the concept of *koinon* – at its most basic, just

218 Oeconomides 1990, 270 (chart).

219 With the Epirote *koinon* there is improvement in the quality and quantity of the issues (Hammond 1967, 638–9; Franke 1961, 68), but Picard and Gjongecaj (2001, 245) note that the minting of *koinon* silver had “no relation to the institutional evolution of the country and the supposed distinction between the Symmachie and the Koinon.” Franke’s latest type of ‘Symmachie’ coinage introduces an image of Artemis that will be replicated in coins of the Epirote *koinon*, and Franke dates this type before 232 only by assuming that different forms of government had to mint different coin types (1961, 121); but ‘Symmachie’ type XII and Epirote *koinon* types could have been contemporary. Crawford (1985, 123) had already suggested that many *koinon* issues were particularly concentrated in the years shortly before and during the Third Macedonian War; Picard and Gjongecaj (2001, 244–8) now extend this, arguing on the basis of the Bakërr hoard (H. Ceka 1972) that the quantity and frequency of minting was concentrated in the years 171–167 and probably did not begin before 180, since the hoard “comprend la quasi-totalité de émissions de la première phase du monnayage” (245) without very much wear.

220 Davies 1994, especially 56–60 on the absence of the concept of sovereignty when used to mean a concentration of power within the state, especially where ‘states’ have not yet separated themselves from ‘communities.’

“community”²²¹ – may have been growing in these years of regal weakness or overreach. For to the next century will belong inscriptions in which the active agents are either “the Molossians” or “the *koinon* of the Molossians,” both suggesting in their alternation a self-identifying community rather than, necessarily, a constitutional entity. And although the history of 330–297 BC might well suggest that this concept of community should have been brought into taut self-awareness in opposition to the monarchy, there is nothing in the narrative of the third century to suggest king and ‘Molossians’ at odds with each other or in constitutional practice acting that way.²²² King and community, like king and alliance, will develop into a partnership. This sense of community grew in a time of weak leadership and outside interference, but to provide the stability, guidance, and continuity – especially in Molossia itself – that were otherwise lacking.

Recent scholarship suggests that ‘federalism’ and other constitutional changes may well be “cognitive response[s] to the awakening of tribal commonness,” and that the construction of *ethnos*-identity is both prerequisite for, and product of, federal forms of association.²²³ The psychological changes postulated for Molossia at the end of the fourth century are thus as important as, or more important than, the constitutional changes were once thought to be: by the end of the fourth century, the Molossian *ethnos* – the area of its specific dominion outside of Molossia limited to an area along the coast of the Ambraciote gulf – is starting to come into self-consciousness. This *ethnos* has a common name, and for a hundred years has been associated with Dodona, its common sacred center; a myth of its common descent from the same family as its king is enunciated by an outsider, a Zacynthian, in the first decade of the third century; it has a shared history, especially of surviving some difficult thirty years; and it has a sense of solidarity from surviving those years.²²⁴ It is, indeed, coming to imagine itself as a community (both as Molossians and, as others see, Epirotes) in partnership with its king, while their kings are dreaming of glory, casting themselves as the leaders (and paymasters) of a greater alliance.²²⁵ It

221 Kornemann 1924, 914–28; Giovannini 1971, 14–24; Hammond 1991, 183–4 and 187; Hatzopoulos 1996, 1:321; Cabanes (1998b, 441–2) reserves this sense for ‘small’ *koina* and has always seen the state centered on Molossia as a federal *koinon*, see (e.g.) 2001, 376.

222 See S. Funke 2000b on the increased sense of give-and-take between king and people or allies after 317 BC.

223 Beck 2003, 181 (an article summarizing much recent research).

224 These are five of the six criteria listed by Smith 1986, 22–30 as defining an ‘ethnic group,’ recapitulated by Nielsen 2002, 48–52; the sixth, “a distinctive and shared culture,” the Molossians also shared with the other pastoral Epirotes and with the Macedonians (see Strabo 7.7.8 [C326–7]), and could have been one of the first contributors to the eventual construction of the even larger *ethnos* of the Epirotes. For the Molossians were also sharing the sacred center of Dodona with other Epirotes and developed a shared history and a sense of solidarity with them (especially through the experience of war, led by Pyrrhus); the resulting *ethnos* of the Epirotes, with its roots in the late fourth century, is fully in existence only after 232.

225 Hammond (1967, 656–6) and (possibly) Franke (1989, 459) thought that the *koinon* of the Molossians, separate from the wider alliance, survived into the third century, and that Pyrrhus was king of the Molossians and hegemon of the ‘Epirote League’; S. Funke (2000a, 179 n.329), however, thought that the appearance of ‘Apeiros’ in the *theorodokoi* list of ca. 330 BC “entzieht dieser These die Grundlage.”

is with this foundation that the fourth-century Molossians enter into the third century, their century of greatness.

III.5. 'THE MOLOSSIANS' IN THE THIRD CENTURY

With, or indeed perhaps because of, this sense of solidarity and identity, the Molossian 'sense of self' starts to manifest itself epigraphically. For if the redatings of Part II are correct, then the Molossians – rather than “unfortunately” having no epigraphical documents that show any 'state' actions or internal institutions in the third century²²⁶ – do have such documents, both documents of “the Molossians” and of “the *koinon* of the Molossians,” and documents that show Molossia's increasing involvement in, and recognition by, the wider world. This terminology, and these documents, are all consequences of their growing self-awareness and their sturdy alliance with their neighbors – and, above all, the consequence of the ways in which, and places to which, their awe-inspiring king Pyrrhus led them between 295 and his death in 272, making them honored if not literal partners at home, and partners in his great hegemonic enterprises abroad as well.

The longest (and most significant) inscription in which “the Molossians” are specified as the agents – agents who grant privileges (ἔδωκαν) to a foreigner, a man from Thessalian Pherai – is the bronze plaque C3, which Cabanes dated before 330/328 BC but which is more likely to date ca. 300 BC. The inscription's dating formula lists a *prostatas*, a secretary, and a list of other men, in this case *hieromnamones* (“remembrancers of sacred things”), referred to with the participle *hieromnameuontes*:²²⁷

Θεός. Λαγέται Λαγέτα Θεσσαλῶι Φε-
ραῖωι Μολοσσοῖ ἔδωκαν εὐεργέται ἐόν-
τι καὶ αὐτῶι καὶ ἐκγόνοις προξενίαν, πολι-
τείαν, ἔγκτασιν, ἀτέλειαν καὶ ἐντέλει-
5 αν καὶ ἀσυλίαν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν καὶ αὐ-

226 “Malheureusement,” Cabanes 1976a, 179; 1983a, 7; 1987a, 109; 1997, 103; also Franke 1955, 38; Davies 2000, 257–8; S. Funke 2000a, 103 and 208.

227 This inscription on bronze is in somewhat worse shape in places than when it was published by Evangelidis 1935, 245–7, having lost a few more small pieces in lines 8–10. The readings of lines 12 and 13 (without the omicron before λυκκα) were suggested without autopsy by Bousquet (1982, 192=SEG XXXII.1705), accepted by Cabanes and Andréou 1985, 522 (as well as Cabanes 2004, 49 no. 3=SEG LIV.576), and I confirm them here; they have been slow to make their way into the Anglophone literature (e.g., Davies 2000, 248–9 no. D6=SEG L.542, which still reads Λυκκαόρτα), but SEG LIV.576 should now remedy that. All publications of this plaque have also restored the gaps in lines 10–14 as too short: where nine spaces have been restored, there should be more in the vicinity of twelve-to-sixteen (especially important in lines 11 and 13, where the gaps have to be restored with a name and an ethnic; in lines 1–7, where the text is complete, the lines are between twenty-seven and thirty-four letters long). I have therefore put in enough spaces in lines 10–14 to give lines between twenty-nine (II.10, 13) and thirty lines long (II.11–12).

τοῖς καὶ χρήμασι[ν] πολέμου καὶ εἰράνα-
 ς, προστατέοντ[ο]ς Λυσανία Ὀμφαλος, γρα-
 μματιστᾶ [Δο]κίμου Ὀμφαλος, ἱερομα-
 μονευ[ό]ντων [Λαφύ]ργα [Ὀμφα]λος, Φιλίππου
 10 Γενοα[ίο]υ[. 10] Ὀνοπέρνου, Σί-
 μου Λ[. 15] Ἀρ]κτάνος, Ἀνα-
 ξάν[δρου 12] ὀλυκκα Ὀρραί-
 τα, Λε[. 16 Μ]ενεδάμου
 Πείαλ[ος ἐπὶ βασιλέος Νεοπτολέ]μου Ἀλεξά-
 15 νδρου.

11 *init.* Λ[αρισαίου?] Evangelidis 1935, 246–7; 11 *mid.* [Ἀτιν]ντάνος Evangelidis 1935, 245, [Ἀτι]ντάνος or, better, [Ἀρ]κτάνος, Hammond 1967, 565; 12 *init.* ξάν[δρου] Evangelidis 1935, 245, *fin.* Λυκκαόρτα Evangelidis 1935, 245; 13 *init.* Ταλε[ᾶνος] Evangelidis 1935, 245; 12–13 λύκκα Ὀρραί[τα Λε[–], Bousquet 1982, 193; 14 *init.* Γοιάλ Evangelidis 1935, 245 (although he also thought Πείαλ[ος] possible), Πείαλ[ος] confirmed, Cabanes 1976a, 540; 14 *fin.* του Ἀλεξά- Evangelidis 1935, 245; Πείαλ[ος βασιλέος Νεοπτολέ]μου Ἀλεξά- Hammond 1967, 565.

“God. To Lagetas (son) of Lagetas, Thessalian from Pherai, being a benefactor, the Molossoi gave both to him and to his descendants *proxenia*, citizenship, the right to own land, exemption from taxes and the right to pay taxes that citizens pay, and *asylia* and security for themselves and properties, in war and peace. When Lysanias Omphals was *prostatas*, when [Do]kimos Omphals was secretary, when [Laphy]rgas [Omph]als, Philippos Genoa[io]s, [.] Onopernos, Simos L[.] Ar]ktan, Anaxan[dros]olykkas Horraitas, Le[.], Menedamos Peial[s] were sacred remembrancers. [In the kingship of Neoptol]mus (son) of Alexander.”

That Cabanes’s dating (to before 330/328) is too early is suggested by lines 14–15. Hammond was the first to restore “King Neoptolemus, son of Alexander” here, a restoration that Cabanes found implausible, but only on historical grounds (at this point, by his history, “one cannot imagine a Molossian state after the birth of the Epirote state”).²²⁸ But this restoration is actually quite plausible: looking at the plaque I, too, read -μου rather than -του towards the end of line 14.²²⁹ If most of the last two lines are a regal dating formula, then the spacing and names between

228 Hammond 1967, 564–5; Cabanes (1976a, 160–1) thought this dating problematic, and following Franke 1955, 40 (on *SGDI* 1336) dated this plaque before 330 BC for historical reasons. At (1976a, 540) Cabanes then chose to read tau rather than mu before Ἀλεξάνδρου. Papazoglou (1970, 130) thought Hammond’s restoration made the line too long, and did not like the appearance of the dating formula with the king (only) at the end of the plaque, while the other elements of the dating formula had come earlier.

229 The mu is the better reading there (what was read as the horizontal ‘bar’ of a putative tau is actually a scratch), and a restoration of Πείαλ[ος ἐπὶ βασιλέος Νεοπτολέ]μου Ἀλεξά gives a line of thirty-four letters, perfectly plausible in this plaque (occurs in I.3). The dating formula with ἐπὶ, customarily used only with annual magistrates, is also found in *SGDI* 1336 (see above pp. 67–9), dating by the same king; βασιλεύοντος, found otherwise in regal dating formulae at Dodona, would make a line of thirty-five letters, not impossible but one letter longer than any fully preserved line on this plaque. For these two reasons, a dating formula with ἐπὶ has been preferred here.

lines nine and fourteen work out to nine names.²³⁰ As Fraser noted more than fifty years ago, the letter forms of this inscription and those of *SGDI* 1336, the other inscription dated by king Neoptolemus II, are very close.²³¹ Only Cabanes's historical assumptions compelled him to date this inscription before 330 BC; otherwise, the (restored) name of the king and the letter-forms seem to point to the end of the fourth century or a little after.

The contents of this inscription are very close in many ways to C1 (the *damiorgoi* inscription discussed above, pp. 48–57), with king, *prostatas*, *grammateus*, and a group of men in the dating formula. This time the honoree – a man – is given not only *politeia* but many other privileges besides; and listed here are not ten *damiorgoi*, but nine *hieromnameuontes*, “those acting as remembrancers of sacred things.”²³² *Hieromnameuontes* or *hieromnamones*, again members of a board of officials, when found elsewhere (particularly at Delphi), oversee ritual activities, activities with ritual implications performed in sanctuaries, and judicial issues arising from sanctuary activities – and in some places are also specifically responsible for the recording of acts in sanctuaries.²³³ The resemblance to the activities postulated for *damiorgoi* is thus very strong, and it therefore seems likely that *hieromnamones* is simply a new name for *damiorgoi*.²³⁴ The parallel with Lousoi, drawn earlier in the discussion of C1 (see above pp. 55–6), also continues, since at Lousoi *hieromnamones* also replaced *damiorgoi*, in inscriptions granting privileges like *proxenia* and *isopoliteia*, sometime in the third or second century.²³⁵ The major differences between C3 and C1 are in the sex of the recipients of the privileges, the wealth of the privileges granted, and the clear identification of “the Molossians” as those who are making the grant.

230 The alternative is to restore a much larger gap in line 10 and fit name, ethnic, and name into it. Others have read the last name (with the patronym “of Alexander”) as the tenth *hieromnameuōn*, but I think it would be very odd to have a member of the ‘college of representatives’ *without an ethnic*, and certainly the two parallel inscriptions, C1 and C2 (below), have (or have been restored to have) ethnics for every member of the ‘college.’

231 The letters are large, alphas are straight-barred, the upsilon is tall, and omegas are on the line; but, like C2 (see below pp. 85–6), triangular letters have a little ‘swing’ to them and the ends of letters like Σ have started to curl a little at the end. Fraser (1954, 57 n.6) dated C3 ca. 300 BC on its letter forms, and is followed by Hammond 1967, 564 (for whom this inscription thus demonstrates the survival of the fourth-century Molossian *koinon* within the third-century ‘Epirote Alliance’). C3 also has two holes for posting in the bottom corners and two in the middles of the left and right sides (the latter analogous to those of C77, the donation of land).

232 Hammond 1967, 565; Cabanes 1976a, 169–70.

233 Davies (2000, 253) notes that *hieromnamones* exist once in Thessaly (Salviat and Vatin 1971, 9 [inv. 787] l.2, end second century BC) and once at Apollonia (*I.Apoll.* 7, third-second century BC). See Hepding 1913 and Thomas 1995, 66–71 and 74 for an overview of *hieromnamones* elsewhere; Sánchez 2001, 506 for the duties of the *hieromnamones* at Delphi (“gardiens des affaires sacrées . . . non seulement des administrateurs du sanctuaire, mais aussi des juges assermentés . . . leur fonction était de préserver les intérêts du dieu”). Ar. *Pol.* 1321b36–40 noted their role as recorders of legal business in sanctuaries; in the Hellenistic *polis* of Dyme (in Achaëa), *damiorgoi* are also associated with public records, Rizakis 2008, 32–3.

234 Veligianni-Terzi (1977, 48 n.153) is not convinced that the *damiorgoi* became *hieromnameuontes*, finding the parallel weak, and noting the simultaneous existence of both *damiorgoi* and *hieromnamones* in late sixth-century Mycenae, *IG* IV.493.

235 Compare *IG* V² 393–4 (with *hieromnamones*) with *IG* V² 388–90 and 395 (with *damiorgoi*).

The first epigraphic appearance of not just “the Molossians” but specifically “the *koinon* of the Molossians” is in a similar type of inscription, this one on stone (C2), and here again this named entity is the agent, granting *politeia*, *ateleia*, *enteleia*, and *gēs ektasis* to a man who is also from Thessaly. It too notes a secretary, and has a list of men, this time fifteen *synarchontes*. C2 was initially dated to the fourth century on the deduction that Philip II took back Orestis in 343/2, and therefore that the presence of Phrynes Orestos (“the Orestan,” in a Molossian inscription) in line 13 necessarily dated the entire inscription before this date.²³⁶ But the history of this area is complicated.²³⁷ Even Alexander II held it (briefly) in the third century; it could well have passed into, out of, into, and out of the Molossian sphere of influence after 342.²³⁸ Since one cannot be sure of the Orestans’ allegiance, which certainly changed, that shifting allegiance is no sure basis on which to date an inscription; and if the *synarchontes* are akin to *amphictyones*, supervising a sanctuary, then an Orestan’s presence here need not be connected to issues of political allegiance anyway. Here are the first sixteen or so lines of C2 with (mostly) Cabanes’s restorations (the traces of line one are discussed below), and a restoration of the missing lines at the beginning will suggest this inscription’s third- (rather than fourth-) century date:

236 Philip took Parauaia and Tymphaia ca. 343, and “presumably” took “Orestis at the same time” because Orestis is presumed to lie between and northeast of these two areas (i.e., towards Macedon), Hammond 1967, 529; Cabanes 1976a, 114 and 131, 1981a, 23 (took the territory of the Atintanes, further west, also), 2004, 26; discussed also *BE* 1962.174.

237 And little known. But (1) Pyrrhus demanded, and received, Parauaia and Tymphaia in 295 (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 6.2), and if Philip II can be presumed to have taken Orestis because of its geographical proximity to Parauaia and Tymphaia, then the same logic should give it back to Pyrrhus in 295; (2) control of this sweep of three mountainous regions also allows access to the Atintanes further northwest in the upper Drin valley (although their location is also disputed, see Papazoglou 1970, 132–6; Cabanes 1976a, 78–80 and 1981a, 30; Hammond 1989; Hatzopoulos 1996, 1:249), whom Pyrrhus incorporated (Cabanes 1976a, 133), and the territory of the Atintanes is still under Epirote control in 230, when the Epirotes give it to the Illyrian queen Teuta (Pol. 2.5.6), so this implies (shaky) Epirote control of Parauaia, Tymphaia, and Orestis until that time; (3) we do not know when Parauaia and Tymphaia (and presumably Orestis) reverted to Macedonian control for good (Lévêque 1957b, 184; Hatzopoulos (1996, 1:78 n.3) suggests after the death of Pyrrhus, but Cabanes (1976a, 89) argues that Parauaia, Tymphaia, and the Atintanes are under Epirote control until at least 230); (4) three Orestoi Molossoi witness a manumission sometime between 232 and 168 (C71=**no. 23**), which leads Cabanes (1992, 77; 1996b, 283–4; 2004, 14), clearly assuming that witnesses were necessarily also members of the *koinon*, to suggest that there were two branches of Orestoi, Molossian and Macedonian; (5) if Philip II eliminated ‘kings’ in the tribes he incorporated, why are the Orestoi still honoring one in the third century (*IG* IX.4.1118)? Can this be considered merely “the remains of an administrative system” (Hammond 1991, 189)? (6) Orestis in the historiographical tradition is only uncomfortably attached to Macedon, revolted in 197 (Pol. 18.47.6; Hatzopoulos (1996, 1:103) thinks this Roman propaganda), and was declared “free” by the Romans in 167 (Liv. 33.34.6), a wildly self-indulgent ambivalence towards Macedon if the two ‘cantons’ further to its west and south were reliably under Macedonian control. So even if an Orestos *synarchon* had to be from a ‘Molossian’ *ethnos* or an area under Molossian control, a fourth-century date before 342 is not necessary and a third-century date is, indeed, likely.

238 Cabanes 1976a, 87.

[] traces [ἐπὶ προστά]-
 [τα] Δ[ρο]άτου Κελαίθ[ου, γραμ]-
 ματέος δὲ Πανσ[ανία Τριπ]-
 ολίτα, συναρχόν[των]-
 5 δα Κελαίθου, Ἄλκ[ωνος Πεί]-
 αλος, Μενεφύλου Κ[λαθριού?],
 Ἀντίκκα Ἐθνεστοῦ, Μ[. Τ]-
 ριφύλα, Γεννάδα Ὀ[νοπέρνο]-
 υ, Ἑκτορος Ὀνφαλος, Δ[αμοίτα]
 10 Ἀμύννου, Αἰρόπου Γε[νοαίου, Ἀ]-
 νεροίτα Ἀρκτάνος, Ν[ίκωνο]-
 ς Φύλατος, Ἀνερεία Τρ[ιπολίτ]-
 α, Φρύνου Ὀρεστοῦ, Ἀρ[χιδάμο]-
 υ Παρώρου, Ὀμοστακά[δα Κυεσ]-
 15 τοῦ ἔδωκε τὸ κοινὸν τ[ῶν Μο]-
 λοσσῶν πολιτείαν [.]-
 οκλεῖ

I *init.* traces: ΟΡΙΝΟΙΜΟΙ' [ἐπὶ προστά] Evangelidis 1957, 249, ος Νεοπτολέμου [ἐπὶ προστά] Hammond 1967, 529, ΙΝΟΥΜΟΛ or ΙΙΝΟΥΜΟΝ Cabanes 1976a, 537, ΓΙΙΝΟΥΜΟΛ Kontorini 1987, 616; 2 Δροατου Κελαίθου Evangelidis 1957, 249, Δ[ρο]άτου Kontorini 1987, 615, Κελαίθ[ου] Cabanes 1976a, 536; 4 *init.* πολίτα Hammond 1967, 528 (error of transcription?); 4 *fin.* [Θεαρί] Evangelidis 1957, 249, but he also admits the possibility of [Λεωνί] or [Λυκκί], 253; 5–6 [Ὀνφ]αλος Evangelidis 1957, 249, [Πεί]αλος Hammond 1967, 529; 6 *fin.* [Ὀπούσου] Evangelidis 1957, 249, Hammond 1967, 529 suggests Ὀνοπέρνου, Ταλαιάνος, Κλαθιάτου, or Λαρισαίου, Y Cabanes 1976a, 537, Κ[λαθιάτου] Kontorini 1987, 616, Κ[λαθριού?] Meyer, following Cabanes 1976a, 137 and 553–6; 7 Ἀντίκκα Ἐθνεστοῦ [Δέρκα Τ] Evangelidis 1957, 249, although he also suggested Ἀντίκκα, 250, Ἐθνεστοῦ BE 1963, 125, Ἀντι[ρ]ικα Hammond 1967, 528, Ἀντίκκα Cabanes 1976a, 536; 7 *fin.* M Cabanes 1976a, 536; 8 *fin.* Θ Evangelidis 1957, 249, Ὀ[νοπέρνο] Hammond 1967, 530; 12 *fin.* Τ[ριφύλ] Evangelidis 1957, 249, Τ[ριπολίτ] Hammond 1967, 530, Τρ[ιπολίτ] Cabanes 1976a, 536; 13 *fin.* Ἀρχ[ιδάμο] Evangelidis 1957, 249, Ἀρ[χιδάμο] Cabanes 1976a, 536; 14 Ὀμοστακ[ίου] Evangelidis 1957, 249 (on the basis of a parallel in an unpublished inscription, 254), Ὀμοστακ[ίου] SEG XXIII.471 (Masson), Ὀμοστακά[δα] Meyer; 14 *fin.* [Ὀρεσ] Evangelidis 1957, 249, [Κυεσ] Hammond 1967, 530.

“ . . . when D[ro]atos Kelaith[os was *prostatas*], Paus[anias Trip]olitas was secretary, [Theari]das Kelaithos, Alk[on Pei]als, Menephulos K[lathrios], Antikkas Ethnestos, M[. Τ]riphylas, Gennadas O[noperno]s, Hektor Onphals, D[amoitas] Amymnos, Airopos Ge[noaios, A]neroitas Arktan, N[ikon] Phylas, Anereias Tr[ipolit]as, Phrynos Orestos, Ar[chidamo]s Paroros, Homostaka[das Kues]tos were *synarchontes*, the *koinon* of the Molossians gave citizenship to [Arist]okles”

C2 is broken at the top, and its first surviving line is unreadable as it stands and does not lend itself to restoration as a dating formula with a king.²³⁹ Hammond and Cabanes have restored the rest of the inscription with a line-length of (at its greatest) twenty-two or twenty-three letters. The traces of the first two surviving lines have proved hard to read (FIGURE 9):

239 Despite Hammond's attempt to do so (1967, 529), ruled out by Cabanes 1976a, 537; the first was working from a photograph.



Figure 9. C2, top of stone.

Upon inspection of the stone, I read:²⁴⁰

[.]TIMOYMOΛ[
[. . .]ΔΡΑΤΟΥΚΕΛΑΙΘ

Because this is a heading, these letters should be parts of elements of dating, thus a dating phrase, a name, or a set of names in the genitive, but these do not restore easily at the end of this line, especially if one follows the restoration in place since the *editio princeps* and ends the first preserved line with [προστά].²⁴¹ Moving ἐπὶ προστατά up a line and supplying something obvious, like “of the Molossians” to finish out MOΛ, works better:

[ἐπὶ προστατά]
[.]TIMOY Μολ[οσσῶν . .]
[. . .]δράτου Κελαίθ[ου, γραμ]-

240 In the first line, before the T there is a defect in the stone which to Evangelidis looked like a letter, but is wider than the letters on this stone usually are. I therefore prefer to read nothing here. I think the crossbar on the T very visible. On the letter I read as M, a diagonal does also continue as if this could be a N, but I find the diagonal turning back up towards the righthand corner more convincing. Because this cannot be absolutely determined, I have dotted the M. Names ending in -τιμος appear thirty-two times in Epirote epigraphy, names ending in -τινος twenty-three times, so both are quite common. In line 2 (the stone is broken just to the left of the picture), after ΔΡ there is a long scratch that comes through very well on the picture, and continues below the baseline. Under it I see no trace of O (which Kontorini had also bracketed), which elsewhere appears quite clearly in the preserved segments of this inscription.

241 With what room is left, two names in the genitive like these are needed: [.]TIMOY MOΛ[OY] would mean that there would need to be at least one line before this one, and a double listing of *prostatai*, as in *SGDI* 1346: ἐπὶ προστατά [.]μου Μόλ[ου, προστατά] Δράτου Κελαίθ[ου], argued for *SGDI* 1346 by Cabanes 1976a, 158, 162–3, 578; 2001, 377 n.33. The name Molos is found in Lindos (*I.Lindos* 2B.XIII.79), very far away, so this is not a very attractive suggestion; for Molonos, genitive of the very common name Molon, there does not appear to be enough room. No Epirote name beginning with MOΛ- is known except Molos-sos; but there is no space (in the traditional restoration) for anything longer than MOΛ[OY], and MOΛ[OY] is squeezing in one more letter at the end of the line than the restored line below it (ἐπὶ, it should be noted, would have squeezed in two extra). If the entire restoration of ἐπὶ προστατά is false in this line, and came earlier in the text, there would be room enough for the genitive of the name Molossos here.

This would follow, fairly closely, the way the name and dating formula conjoin in *SGDI* 1346, *προστατεύοντος Σαβυρ[τίου] Μολοσσῶν Ὀνοπέρνου Καρτατοῦ*, literally “being *prostatas* Sabyrtius of the Molossians the Onopernos Kartatos” – here, “when was *prostatas* [.]timos of the Molossians the [.]dratios Kelaithos.” This would mean that *Dr[o]atas/Dratas* ceases to be a name²⁴² and would become part of an ethnic instead. Doubled ethnics – if we do not count “Androkadas the Arktan of the Eurymenaiοi” in C1 – appear only in *SGDI* 1346 (=no. 9), *SGDI* 1347 (=no. 17, after 232), C14, and C15 (after 219), so – by the numbers – one of the later phenomena in the inscriptions of Dodona.

How to finish out the line above the first surviving line? Here is one possibility:

[Ἀγαθῶι τύχαι. ἐπὶ προστάτα]
[.]ΤΙΜΟΥ Μολ[οσσῶν . . .]-
[. . .]δράτου Κελαίθ[ου, γραμ]-

gives us yet another line of 22 letters, which is the length to which the first two surviving lines have also been restored. (Although this inscription is not as regular as a stoichedon inscription, the letters in general line up from line to line and the line length, as otherwise restored, does not vary more than a letter.) Yet βασιλεύοντος Ἀλεξάνδρου is also a phrase of twenty-two letters, providing another possible restoration. That is, the missing beginning of the inscription – its missing first *two* lines – could run: Ἀγαθῶι τύχαι. βασιλεύοντο[ις Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπὶ προστάτα, sharpening the similarity to *SGDI* 1346 (=no. 9) even more:

[Ἀγαθῶι τύχαι. βασιλεύοντο]-
[ς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπὶ προστάτα]
[.]ΤΙΜΟΥ Μολ[οσσῶν . . .]-
[. . .]δράτου Κελαίθ[ου, γραμ]-
ματέος δὲ Πανσ[ανία Τριπ]-
ολίτα, συναρχόν[των]-
δα . . .

It then continues on into the list of (heavily restored) *synarchontes*.

The previous dating of this inscription to the fourth century has been assumed from the shape of its letters. It is true that the letters of C2 are large and well-shaped; the bars on the alphas are almost all straight (one curves); all but one of the omegas are as large as the other letters and written on the line (in line 20, it is smaller and above the line); but upsilon is often a little taller than other letters; the diagonal letters ‘swing’ a bit, and Σ curls at the ends of its letters. The closest letter-form parallels are with *SGDI* 1368 (dedication of Pyrrhus, ca. 279 BC) and C74 (=no. 8), a manumission (now) dated 300–250 whose letter-ends are beginning to curl upwards.²⁴³ Compared to C1, the stone whose contents dated to 370–368 but whose

242 In either form, it is otherwise unattested in *LGNP* IIIA anyway.

243 Long upsilon, *SGDI* 1368 (dedication by Pyrrhus and others ca. 279 BC) and 1334 (grant, king

letter forms may be as much as one hundred years later,²⁴⁴ this inscription's letters are more mobile and less blocky; its line spacing is less cramped, and the vertical arrangement of letters underneath each other is more orderly and predictable. C1 was simply less well carved than this one; the lettering of C2 appears both more regular and more careful, while the letter forms are mildly different from those of C1. Upon inspection, therefore, the two stones have large letters in common, and are not necessarily very far apart in date.²⁴⁵ If in fact the *prostatas* of C2 has a double-barrelled ethnic, with his proper name coming before "of the Molossians" in the dating formula, then that too would associate C2 more with *SGDI* 1346, of king Alexander (II's) time (272–242 or a little after), and less with the fourth century.²⁴⁶

If this is the case, then the Molossians in the fourth century had king, *prostatas*, *grammateus*, and a board of ten *damiorgoi* (C1), at the end of that century had king, *prostatas*, *grammateus*, and a board of nine *hieromnamones* (C3), and in the third had king, *prostatas*, *grammateus*, and a somewhat larger board of fifteen *synarchontes* (C2), as well as an *ekklesia* (*SGDI* 1335, Alexander [II]). Moreover, between 370 and 250 BC there has been a change both in the name of the group of men listed (from *damiorgoi* to *hieromnameuontes* to *synarchontes*) and in the way their ethnics are presented: in C1 they were "of the Amymnoi" (genitive plural), but in C2 and C3 the qualifier is expressed as an adjective ("the Amymnos") in the genitive singular. Both changes would seem to be significant. The change in title (along with the increase in the number of the men listed) may indicate that the board was remodelled in a way that conveys a shift in its purpose or in perceptions of it: for *synarchontes*, a "rare term,"²⁴⁷ means "those who rule along with,"

Alexander); Σ and Λ with swing and curl, C74 (=no. 8) and also *SEG* XV.412=C40, third-century bronze plaque honoring a peripolarch, see Robert 1955, 283–91 and the picture in Cabanes 1991, 204 fig. 5 (which shows that this inscription also has alphas with both straight and curved bars, and large omega on the line).

244 See above n.92.

245 Although Dakaris (1957 [1961], 111) thought the letters were "the same or nearly the same," even he allowed for a possible thirty-year difference between the two *stelai*.

246 See above pp. 29–30. C2 (line 20) also grants its privileges to the men "and their γ[ενεᾶν]," and this terminology again associates C2 with other third-century grants: *SGDI* 1334 (αὐτῶι καὶ[ι] γενεᾶι καὶ γέν[ει] ἐκ[] γενεᾶς); 1335 ([καὶ] γενεᾶι); the phrase is restored in *SGDI* 1341 (αὐτὸν καὶ [γενεᾶ]ν) and 1343 (αὐτῶι καὶ[ι] γένει ἐκ [γενεᾶ]ς); 1341 later in the same inscription also grants *asphaleia* and *ateleia* to the man and his ἐκ[γόνους], so I suspect that [γενεᾶ]ν may be incorrectly restored in the earlier line, and the restoration should read [ἀσυλία]ν instead. The terminology is also found in third-century manumissions: *SGDI* 1359+1362 (=no. 10, καὶ γένος ἐκ γενεᾶς); *SGDI* 1348 (=no. 15, [αὐτὰν καὶ] γένος ἐκ[] γενεᾶς νῦν καὶ[ι] | [εἰς τὸν ἄπα]ντα χρόνον; reign of king Pyrrhus or Ptolemaeus); *SGDI* 1361 (=no. 16, [κ]αὶ γενεᾶν καὶ[ι] γένος ἐκ γενεᾶς? –); and in *IG* IX² 1.4.1750, Zacynthian *proxenos* "of the Molossians and their allies for thirty γενεά." C1 no. 1, by contrast, had granted *politeia* to the woman "and her ἐγγόνους," while C1 no. 2 mixed the terminology, giving *politeia* (to a woman's) γενεᾶι, that is, αὐτῶι καὶ ἐγγόνους; C3 at the beginning of the century gives αὐτῶι καὶ ἐκγόνους; and then (with the possible exception of *SGDI* 1341 above) it is not used until the end of the century and after: it appears in C34 (ca. 205 BC, Cabanes 1976a, 559), C16 (end third century BC), C35 (renewal of *philia* and *proxenia* between the *koina* of the Aterargoi and the Pergamioi), *SGDI* 1352 (=no. 26, ca. 200–170 BC), and C33 (ca. 170 BC).

247 Davies 2000, 253; he also notes, "it would be fair . . . to see the public vocabulary . . . as having

“colleagues in office.” Is this evidence that a religious amphictyony of neighbors to a great sanctuary, appearing in dating formulae for political acts with religious implications, had taken on a greater political role over time (as the amphictyonic *hieromnemes* at Delphi appear to have)?²⁴⁸ Or that with the institution of games this board has taken on greater financial responsibilities – since *synarchontes* in Athens and Delos were financial officials?²⁴⁹ Or that perceptions of the role of this college had changed – that enough of a ‘political’ sphere had developed in Molossia, which in the fourth century had been characterized only by the ‘regal’ and the ‘religious’ spheres (king and sanctuary), for the college to be reclassified, by title and therefore in the popular perception? The implications of “*synarchontes*” parallel the implications of the emergence of “the Molossians:” the amphictyons are coming into their own in the third century, worthy of the title (if not necessarily, or demonstrably, the reality) of being “fellow-rulers,” with each other or with the king.²⁵⁰

The change in the case of the ethnic, from a genitive plural to a singular adjective agreeing in case with its person, may reflect something else. Rather than being associated, through the ethnic, with a group of people (a plural noun), these men are identified by an individual affiliation (an ethnic adjective). This may be a subtle way of indicating that the ethnic, in C3 and C2, is coming to signify a portable association that designates affiliation no matter where you are (and thus could be

been drawn partly from the common Greek stock, partly from the terminology of the neighbouring colonial foundations . . . and partly from terms current in Dorian-North-West Greek regional speech,” although he concludes that we are observing an indigenous development rather than an imposition from outside.

- 248 Delphi: the *hieromnemes* of the amphictyonic board perform political (embassies), religious, and judicial tasks (Lefèvre 1998, 206) but their functions did not change much over time (Sánchez 2001, 472–85); they may therefore have performed more of the same functions over time (the evidence is uneven) or may merely have been politically visible after 346 (Lefèvre 1998, 138). If the existing college or board at Dodona were gradually recast or reunderstood as a more political entity, there would still be need for supervision of the sanctuary; either this board would continue to perform this vital task (my preferred hypothesis), or another one would have to be created. This is probably the century in which new sanctuary officials were created to supervise Pyrrhus’s new games – the naiarch (see above p. 36), possibly also the agonothete – so the creation of new officials associated with the sanctuary was clearly a possibility.
- 249 Financial officers in Athens and Delos, Davies 2000, 253; a fragment of Proxenus (*FGrH* 703 F7) has the Epirotes fining a shepherd, so in the third century (at least) there is a reference to financial affairs of the sanctuary (dedications had of course been given even in Hesiod’s time, Hes. *Eoiai* fr. 115 [Hirschberger], inquirers bring gifts). Polybius uses the term once for all the magistrates of the Achaean league (Pol. 23.16.6, with Walbank *ad loc.*); it is not a technical term, since the Achaean league had both *bouleutai* and a board of ten *damiorgoi*. Walbank (*ad* 2.37.10–11[e]) thinks Polybius is using *synarchontes* as a collective term for the *strategos* and the ten *damiorgoi*, and possibly including also other known magistrates (hipparch, secretary, under-general, admiral). Because in C2 the *prostatas* and the *grammateus* are noted separately, *synarchontes* is not being used in that collective sense here.
- 250 Similarly at Delphi the amphictyonic *hieromnemes* develop their own sense of identity and community, and even called themselves most often a *koinon*, Lefèvre 1998, 173–6 and 182. *Synarchontes* might also be taken to imply restraint upon the king, but the title is not used in such a way elsewhere and it seems unwise to push such an interpretation without corroborating evidence.

familial *or* geographical) rather than affiliation *only* with a group of people: the unit, the *ethnos*, may be in the process of being defined differently. Or the change may again be one in perspective, with the emphasis on the individual rather than the group – the affiliation to the group from the perspective of the individual rather than from the perspective of the group’s claim on the individual. If either way of understanding the change in the form of the ethnic has any validity to it, then these changes constitute again a set of small clues as to how Molossia is changing in the third century: *ethnē* are more settled while their individual members move more; and the perspective of the individual, that of the part within the whole, is increasingly emphasized. Like the Molossians within Molossia, so too individual identity within the group is now taking shape.

C1, C3, C2: on the standard interpretation, the Molossians very quickly went through not two but indeed three changes in the names of the “college” or “board” – from *damiorgoi* to *synarchontes* to *hieromnameuontes*, all in forty years.²⁵¹ Placing C3 at the end of the fourth century and C2 in the second third of the third century allows for (a) a somewhat more leisurely pace of change, (b) a third-century official title that sounds colorlessly professional rather than old-fashioned (*damiorgoi*) or overtly religious (*hieromnameuontes*), and (c) an apparent progression from religious amphictyony towards an amphictyonic board whose responsibilities may now reach beyond the religious. A third-century date for C2 also connects this board of *synarchontes* with what will follow in Epirus, for an otherwise unidentified group of men with this title are associated with the *strategos* of the Apeirotes in 206 BC.²⁵² To see the *synarchontes* as literal “co-rulers” with the king in the third century would seem to hypothesize far in advance of the evidence, however. The great kings of the third century worked with others, and the title of the *synarchontes*, itself a little unusual and therefore probably deliberately chosen, may have been chosen only to reflect or honor this new sense of cooperation.

Further political activity, in addition to that seen in C2, continues to be attested epigraphically during the long reign of Alexander II at mid-century. “The Molossians,” “the *koinon* of the Molossians,” and “the *ekklesia* of the [Molossians]” are all seen bestowing privileges and proxenies during his reign.²⁵³ Whether this is the

251 Cabanes 1976a, 166–72 and (e.g.) 2005, 149; followed by (e.g.) Davies 2000, 252, but also virtually all others except Hammond, who dated C3 as I do, and Papazoglou 1970, 128 (who thought a change from ten *damiorgoi* to fifteen *synarchontes*, with a concomitant implication of state growth, in such a short time unlikely).

252 *I.Magn.* 32 II.37–8 (206 BC), “Krison the general and the *synarchontes*” (Κρίσωνα τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ τοὺς συνάρχοντας), regularly drawn into discussions of whether the Epirote *koinon* had one *strategos* or three (see below n.311); but Krison and the *synarchontes* are charged with seeing to it that the decree is registered (καὶ ἐπιμεληθῆμεν ὅπως γράφῃ), which sounds like a responsibility for a board of officials possibly associated with the sanctuary in which the inscription is to be placed (as *Ar. Pol.* 1321b34–40 also noted was a function of some *hieromnēmones*).

253 *SGDI* 1334 (the *koinon* of the Molossians), 1335 (the *ekklesia* of the [Molossians]), C6 (the Molossians), *SGDI* 1337 (the [*koino*]n of the Molossians), all Alexander (II: redated above); to these should be added C2 (*koinon* of the Molossians), and 1341 (the Molossians). I date C3 (the Molossians; Neoptolemus II) and *SGDI* 1340 (the Molossians; Pyrrhus) before Alexander II, *SGDI* 1343 (the *koinon* of the Molossians, restored), and *SGDI* 1344 (the Molossians [re-

overt exercise of new powers or traditional powers merely becoming epigraphically visible cannot be known for certain, just as the composition of the *ekklesia* cannot be discerned. It is, however, probably possible to locate some of this political activity physically: this was also the century in which structures were built at Dodona (usually attributed to Pyrrhus) that could accommodate such activities, in particular the *bouleuterion* and the enormous theater, although their primary purpose was not necessarily political.²⁵⁴ The size of the theater (it could hold 18,000 people) was dictated by audiences presumed to be coming to Dodona for the Naia, games in honor of Zeus Naios and Dionē (and probably instituted by Pyrrhus), but, like a football stadium on an American college campus, available for other uses – possibly by the *ekklesia*, as in other Greek states – at other times of the year. The *bouleuterion* and the *prytaneion* could have had primarily cultic or festival uses as well.²⁵⁵

What also cannot be demonstrated is that “sacred remembrancers” or “co-rulers” were any more ‘federal,’ or had any more decision-making power, than the *damiorgoi* in the monarchic ‘state’ of the fourth century had had. Indeed, how these groups of *hieromnameuontes* or *synarchontes* were chosen and whether they were thought representative remain as obscure for C3 and C2 in the early and middle third centuries as they had been for C1 in the fourth. The *hieromnameuontes* of C3 also do not follow the listing order on which a case for rotating representation of tribes within Molossian ‘federal’ government was made.²⁵⁶ “The Molossians” now clearly are the agents bestowing honors and privileges, but no other activities are attributed to them, and decisions for war, and war’s strategy, were the king’s prerogative. The monarchy had from the fourth century coexisted with some rudimentary (sanctuary-based, I have argued) institutions, a *prostatas*, and many small communities.²⁵⁷ Molossia, in the third century, still has a king, a *prostatas*, a board of officials for Dodona, a secretary, and now, officially noted, an *ekklesia*; when the Molossians call themselves a *koinon*, they announce their own sense of identity and community, and most likely assert that they can work well without their partner

stored]) after. It should be noted that C2, C3, C6, and *SGDI* 1341 were all dated to the third century by Chaniotis 1986, 159 n.2, albeit only in passing.

254 Date of *bouleuterion*: Dakaris 1973 [1975], 88–9; theater, Dakaris 1971a, 22, 66 and Mylonopoulos 2006, 196 and 203; other building, see above nn.72–3. Cabanes (1976a, 167) argued that a council must have existed in the fourth century, when it served to advise the *ekklesia* of *SGDI* 1335 (an inscription of ‘King Alexander’ that he had also dated to the fourth century).

255 Hansen and Fischer-Hansen 1994, 38 n.62 have challenged the identification of the *bouleuterion*: because it could accommodate several thousand people, they argue that it could have served as an *ekklesiasterion*. Mylonopoulos (2006, 204), however, notes the parallels in placement of these two buildings to that of the *prytaneion* at Delphi, and to that of the *prytaneion* and *bouleuterion* at Olympia, and the directly festival- and games-related functions of these structures at other sanctuaries.

256 See above n.101. In C3, the order is Omphals, Genoaios, Onopernos, L[–], Arktan, [–], Horraitas, [–], Peials; in C1 it had been Arktan, Tripolitas, Kelaithos, Peials, Genoaios, Ethnestos, Triphylas, Omphals, Onopernos, Amymnos.

257 Hatzopoulos (1996, 1:495; 2001, 386; and 2003, 58–9) has argued that the earlier Epirote state in its various forms was not a *Bundesstaat* – thus a different kind of “federal” state from those to the South, as was Macedonia – but only a monarchy subject to *nomos* with some “federal features.”

the king, when that king is away. But neither the Molossians themselves nor the board of *damiorgoi/hieromnamones/synarchontes* nor some combination of the two constitutes a full federal structure with full federal governance: the primary form of government here is a dynamic monarchy, and it was likely the king's energy and initiative that animated these institutions.

The third century is the century in which the Molossians as Molossians become visible to themselves, and some Molossian institutions become visible to us. It was also the century in which they became well-known to, and connected with, others. In one sense, any gift of a privilege to a foreigner (of which there were at least fourteen before 232)²⁵⁸ is an attestation of a connection that runs outside Molossia, an indication of a wider horizon and a widening circle of friends. Other inscriptions that suggest this broadening and opening are few, but revealing. Early in Pyrrhus's reign, a Zacynthian *proxenos* chose to make a dedication at Dodona with handsomely fulsome praise of himself and his family, *proxenoi* "of the Molossians and their allies throughout thirty generations since the days of Troy, the race of Cassandra."²⁵⁹ Pyrrhus, Epirotes, and Tarentines made a dedication at Dodona in 279, as did Pyrrhus (and probably others; the dedications are fragmentary) in 274 and at an unknown date.²⁶⁰ Under (probably) Pyrrhus a group proxeny (*SGDI* 1340) was bestowed by "the Molossians" upon the Acragantines, three of whom have come to Dodona, possibly with news of Pyrrhus's victories in Sicily (in which Acragas participated), between 278 and 276.²⁶¹ Geographically this is the group given *proxenia* that is the farthest away. Dodona is becoming the place where such triumphs are announced and such gifts are displayed, an appreciation (perhaps) of an even greater international audience that the sanctuary and its festival, the Naia, were now drawing: oracular consultation by individuals brought visitors to the shrine in a regular stream, but the Naia brought them in quadrennial inundations, and the changes in the preserved epigraphy of the sanctuary may reflect changed assumptions about what would be seen by whom. The Molossians in the third century were energetic and expansive, and along with their kings adorned Dodona in both word and deed to display these qualities.

258 C1, *SGDI* 1336, C3, *SGDI* 1366, *SGDI* 1340, *SGDI* 1341, C2, C6, *SGDI* 1334, *SGDI* 1335, *SGDI* 1337, *SGDI* 1345, *SGDI* 1343, and *SGDI* 1344. *SGDI* 1367 probably was too, but it is too fragmentary to say with any certainty.

259 For date and discussion, see above n.202.

260 *SGDI* 1368 (279 BC), *BE* 1969. 347 (274 BC), and *SEG* XXIV.452 (undated).

261 Diod. 22.10.1. *SGDI* 1340: dated by Hammond 1967, 571 to the reign of Pyrrhus; Franke (1955, 39 n.169 and 1961, 276) chose "soon after 338 BC" (a consequence of the Italian adventures of Alexander I), and Cabanes (1976a, 161) follows him (specifically after 330 BC), finding confirmation (88) in the presence of aristocratic exiles from Acragas in Apollonia in 314 (Diod. 19.70.7). A group proxeny is a signal honor, however, and Alexander I's adventures in south Italy (never reaching Sicily: for a summary see Holloway 1969, 131–4) are not enough to justify it; aristocratic exiles betoken a split in the city of Acragas, also a poor reason for, or confirmation of, a group proxeny. A is straight-barred; the triangular letters Λ and Μ have 'swing'; O is large; Π has a short second hasta (one curling), and one Ω (line 3) is moderately pinched-in: which all conform to the letter-forms otherwise seen also in dedications dated to the reign of Pyrrhus.

III.6. WHAT DOES REDATING MEAN FOR MOLOSSIAN EXPANSION IN THE THIRD CENTURY?

The traditional argument holds that Molossia became a federal state in the fourth century, embarking on an up-and-down process of expansion and incorporation of neighbors in the late fourth and third centuries, a process culminating in a great power-base for Pyrrhus and his dreams of western conquest. But by what means did the manpower on which Pyrrhus drew grow, and was this related to the hypothesized growth of the federal state? The answer to the second question is ‘no’ (or at least ‘not proven’) – and it therefore becomes more likely that Pyrrhus’s power was based on alliance rather than federation, as a look at the honorific inscriptions of the third century will also suggest.

With the dating of C1, C2, and C3 adjusted (and their relative order realigned), the ‘board’ of officials (*damiorgoi*, *hieromnameuontes*, *synarchontes*) grows (slowly) over time, rather than growing quickly (between C1 and C2) and then shrinking quickly (between C2 and C3), and the change in the grammatical form of the ethnic may show a decreasing emphasis on affiliation to an extended family. If this decreasing emphasis on the family-group implies in turn an increasing definition of the ethnic as geographical (as an identifier of a person’s area of origin), do ethnics and growth of the realm dovetail? Can ethnics be used to confirm the growth suggested by the large number of *synarchontes*? In a word, no. When these ethnics are plotted over time and on a map, they show the remarkably small degree to which the board incorporated neighbors, which in turn suggests that the extent of ‘representation’ on the ‘board’ does not wax or wane in conjunction with the waxing of a ‘federal,’ or Molossian, ‘state.’ This itself adds support to the suggestion that the role of these men in this college was not to act as political representatives or play a chiefly political role; and that – even if their role were gradually shifting from religious to religious-and-political – these men were not part, or reflection, of an expanding and generously inclusive federal state.

What follows is a list of known ethnics in the (presumed) chronological order of the inscriptions in which they appear, followed by a discussion of what is known of their geographical placement, also displayed in visual form in **MAPS 3–5**.

LIST I. ETHNICS OF THE PARTICIPANTS in the various decrees and manumissions (*starred) over time, with new ethnics marked in bold as they enter the epigraphical record):

C1 (contents, 370–368 BC):

Arktan (*prostatas* and *grammateus*); *damiorgoi* (whose ethnics appear as genitive plurals): Arktan of the **Eurymenai** (a double ethnic); of the **Tripolitai**; of the **Kelaithoi**; of the **Peiales**; of the **Genoai**; of the **Ethnestoi**; of the **Triphylai**; of the **Omphales**; of the **Onoperno**; of the **Amymnoi**.
*SGDI 1351:

seven Molossian witnesses (six **Dodonaioi**, one **Phoinatos**); seven Thesprotian witnesses (Lari-

saïos, Eleaios, two Tiaioi, an Onopernos, and a man with a patronym); an Onopernos is *prostatas*.

1336 (Neoptolemus, son of Alexander I):

no ethnic; *prostatas* is “Molossian.”

C3 (Neoptolemus, son of Alexander I?):

Omphalis (*prostatas* and *grammateus*); *hieromnameuontes*: Omphalis, Genoaïos, Onopernos, Ark-tan, **Horraitas**, Peials (but probably nine total).

*1354 (first half third century):

five **Koilopoi**; one Kelaithos.

1366 (first half third century):

Oriatas (=Horraitas).

*C68 (first half third century):

Kelaithos (*prostatas*), same in C77; others unreadable.

*1356 (first half third century):

Phoinatoi.

*1360 (first half third century):

[Tri]polisio<s>.

1367 (first half third century):

[Onope]rnos Kartatos, Genuaios.

*1355 (first half third century):

Kelaithos (*prostatas*); Dodonaïos, two Kelaithoi.

*C70:

Horraitas, Dodonaïos, **Argeios**.

1340 (Pyrrhus?):

no ethnic preserved.

1341 (first half third century):

no ethnic.

C2 (?Alexander II, 272-?242):

[–]odroatos Kelaithos (*prostatas*), [Tri]politias (*grammateus*); Kelaithos, [Pei]als, (restored) **K[la]thrios?**, Ethnestos, [T]riphylas, [Onoperno]s, Onphals, Amymnos, Ge[noaios], Arktan, **Phylas**, Tr[i]polita], **Orestos**, **Paroros**, and (restored) [**Kues**]tos; one, at the end of line six, is not preserved at all.

*C74 (Alexander II, 272-?242):

Koroneiatas (*prostatas*), **Larruos** (*grammateus*); two **Eryxioi**.

C6 (Alexander II, 272-?242):

Omphals (*prostatas*), Larruos (*grammateus*).

1334 (Alexander II, 272-?242):

Omphals (*prostatas* and *grammateus*).

1335 (Alexander II, 272-?242):

Omphals (*prostatas* and *grammateus*).

1337 (Alexander II, 272-?242):

no ethnics.

*1346 (Alexander II, 272-?242):

Onopernos Kartatos (*prostatas*); a second *prostatas* of the Amymnioi (?), **Europios**.

*1359+1362:

Batelonios, two **Hoplainoi**, Kelaithos.

*C72:

no ethnic.

*C73:

no ethnic.

*1363:

no ethnic.

*1353:

Kar[–] (*prostatas*), Arg[eios?].

1343:

no ethnic.

1344:

no ethnic.

*1348 (Ptolemy? or Pyrrhus?):

no ethnics.

*1361 (after 232?):

no names preserved.

Not all of these ethnics have been successfully associated with a geographic location. From the ones that have, however, this is the (tentative) picture that develops (see **MAPS 3–5**).

In C1 (370–368), the *damiorgoi* came from in and around the plain of Ioannina or to the east of it (**MAP 3**): an “Arktan of the Eurymenaioi” (in the plain itself, or perhaps east in the mountains),²⁶² the Tripolitai (possibly southwest of the plain of Ioannina, in the mountains),²⁶³ the Kelaithoi (to the east, near Thessaly, possibly near Metsovo), the Peiales (same),²⁶⁴ the Genoaioi (possibly east of the upper reaches of the Ioannina plain),²⁶⁵ the Ethnestoi (north of the Genoaioi, virtually in Thessaly),²⁶⁶ the Triphylai (northeast of the plain), the Omphales (north of the plain, and the western neighbors of the Triphylai),²⁶⁷ the Onopernoioi (in the Tomaros mountain range directly to the west of Dodona), and the Amymnoi, probably

262 Hammond (1967, 675 map 16) places them on the eastern side of the Ioannina plain, in part because of the association of one of the men in this inscription (C1) with what he deduced was the ethnic group of the Eurymenaioi or the town of Eurymenai, which he thought to place at Kastritsa in the plain as well (527); Cabanes (1976a, 122–3 and map 1) thought in the mountains to the south-east of the plain.

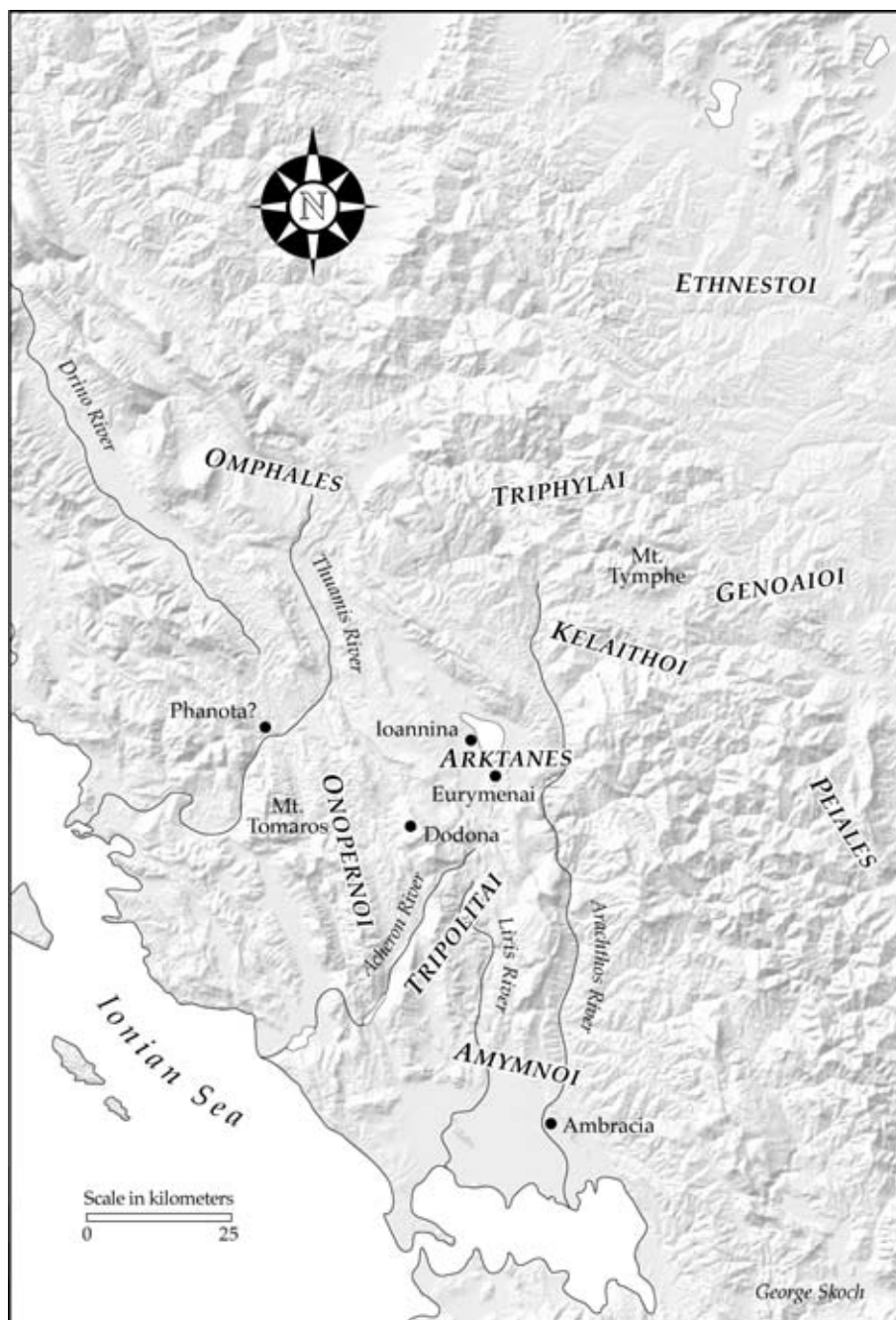
263 Hammond 1967, 532; Dakaris (1957 [1961], 91–2) suggested in Hestiaiotes (Thessaly), and Cabanes (1996b, 286) thought this could not be excluded.

264 Cabanes (1976a, 123–5 and map 1) places the Kelaithoi, Peiales, Tripolitai, and Arktanes in a strip of high mountain country to the south-east of the Ioannina plain, and in that order (running NW to SE); Hammond (1967, 532) suggests that the Kelaithoi were near Metsovo and the Peiales near Mt. Cercetius, also virtually in Thessaly.

265 Hammond (1976, 532) is uncertain where to place the Genoaioi; the putative location given here is from Cabanes 1976a, 125 and map 1.

266 Cabanes 1976a, 125–6 and map 1 (east of Pindus, between Thessaly, Parouaia, and Orestis).

267 On the location of these two Hammond 1967, 674–5 map 16 and Cabanes 1976a, 126–7 and map 1 agree; Cabanes 1997, 101 speculates now that the Triphylai are, more specifically, near Konitsa.



Map 3: Ethnicity of *Damiorgoi* in Molossia.

to be located to the south of the Ioannina plain.²⁶⁸ If there is any truth to the tribal attributions made by later ancient commentators and excerptors, the Molossians took Dodona away from what must have been a 'Greater Thesprotia' that stretched across the southern half of the plain of Ioannina and into the mountains to its east, since these later sources identify the Onopernoi (to the west) and the Tripolitai and Kelaithoi (to the east) as Thesprotian, and the Amymnoi as Chaonian,²⁶⁹ and in *SGDI* 1351 both the Dodonaioi and a Phoinatos are already identified as Molossian. The location of the *Phoinatoi* is itself unknown, but if they were the later but similarly named people of *Phanota* or *Phanotai*, then they likely inhabited the area that straddles the best direct east-west route into Molossia from the Adriatic via the Thuamis river, at one of that river's fords.²⁷⁰

For the next hundred years, the ten ethnics of C1 remained in the heart of Molossia. Koilopoi, the ethnic of witnesses in manumissions, will be added, but in the list of *hieromnameuontes* in C3 (ca. 297 BC?), admittedly incomplete, five out of the six preserved *ethnē* were those already present in C1; only a Horraitas has been added (**MAP 4**).

Horraion was Ammotopos, a town between the Liris and Arachthos river valleys (which also lead north into the plain of Ioannina).²⁷¹ The location of the Koilopoi is unknown. The Argeios witness (of C70) is possibly from Argos Ippaton, famous for its bridge in the Acherusian plain.²⁷² If these lists of ethnics are to be taken as a direct reflection of the physical expansion of a new state – that is, even if these men, *hieromnameuontes* or witnesses alike, were members or potential members of a representative federal council or college of a 'state' – then this state has a geographical coherence but has not made much geographical progress, or incorporated many new peoples not already subjugated in 342 BC (such as more Thesprotians and Chaonians), by the year 297 BC.

The long reign of Alexander II contributes many more names but hardly changes this picture: Phylates, Orestoi, Kuestoi, Klathrioi, Koroneiatiai, Paroroi, Europioi, Eryxioi, and Larruoi (see **MAP 5**).

Hammond identified the first three as all northern tribes, the Orestoi on the northern slopes of Pindus facing Macedonia, and the Phylates and Kuestoi to the southwest of this area, in the direction of the Triphylai at the northeast corner of the Ioannina plain.²⁷³ Cabanes has now placed the Kuestoi more securely to the north-

268 Hammond (1967, 532, 674–5 map 16) and Cabanes (1976a, 127–8 and map 1) agree on the location of the Onopernoi and the Amymnoi.

269 See the sources gathered by Hammond 1967, 526.

270 Name *Phanotai* (Pol. 27.16.4) or *Phanota* (Livy 43.21.4). Hammond (1967, 676) describes the likely location of the later city of *Phanota*, which was an important site in later Roman military maneuvers; Cabanes (1976a, 296 and nn.418–20) gives some other options; in (1997, 98) he considers this still an open question; Riginos (2004, 67), following Dakaris, suggests that *Phanota* was *Doliani*, and is followed by P. Funke *et al.* 2004, 348.

271 Horraion (=Horreum, Liv. 45.26) is definitively located at Ammotopos by the new treaty published and discussed by Cabanes and Andréou 1985; reconfirmed Cabanes 1997, 96.

272 Argeioi, suggested by Hammond 1967, 540 as Argos Ippaton, identified as *Kastrion* near *Koroni* in the Acherusian plain.

273 Orestoi, Phylates, and Kuestoi, Hammond 1967, 530; Cabanes 2004, 14, followed by Katsi-



Map 4: Ethnics of *Hieromnameuontes* in Molossia.

Map 5: Ethnics of *Synarchontes* in Molossia.

west of the Ioannina plain, between the upper Thuamis and upper Drino river valleys.²⁷⁴ The Klathrioi are from somewhere in central Molossia, since this is also the ethnic of one of the proponents of Molossia's abandonment of the Roman alliance in 170, and all of these leaders were from the Molossian heartland.²⁷⁵ Koroneia may be the small fortified site in the upper Acheron river valley.²⁷⁶ The Paroroi are directly to the east of the Ioannina plain, south of Mt. Tymphe and close to the source of the Arachthos river.²⁷⁷ The Europioi may have been at Voulista, in the Liris river valley north of Horraion.²⁷⁸ The location of the Eryxioi and Larruoi, and the Bationioi and the Hoplainoi (these last probably also to be dated to Alexander II), is unknown. Even this much suggests or reflects, however, at best a minor expansion of the board of magistrates in the early-to-mid third century BC, with tendrils that reached northeast, towards Macedonia, and perhaps southwest, into the southern half of Thesprotia. And the basis for this expansion had already been established by Philip's gift to Alexander I in the 340s.

This minor expansion of the membership of the board stands in striking contrast to the amount of territory Pyrrhus had come to control in the first third of the third century – although this territory could have been (we lack direct information) either annexed or merely allied (see **MAP 6**).²⁷⁹

koudis 2005, 56.

274 Cabanes (1976a, 130) was uncertain, but see now Cabanes 1996a, 89–94; 1997, 100; 1998a, 22.

275 He appears in *SGDI* 1338 and *SGDI* 1339, possibly in C75 (=no. 24), and Pol. 27.13–14 and 30.7.2; see Cabanes 1976a, 553–6 on Klathrios rather than Klathiatos.

276 Koroneia=Koroni? This possibility suggested by Hammond 1967, 69.

277 Hammond 1967, 450–1 and 530; Cabanes 1976a, 129–30.

278 Cabanes 1976a, 128.

279 See the general discussion (based in part on Plut. *Pyrrh.* 6.4 and App. *Illyr.* 7) in Lévêque 1957b, 183–205; Hammond 1967, 568–9; and Cabanes 1976a, 132–3; the most debated elements are Apollonia (Hammond (1967, 586) and Cabanes (2001, 375) think Pyrrhus controlled it, Cabanes (1976a, 85) had settled for “friendly relations”), the territory inland of Apollonia and Epidamnus (Hammond 1967, 586–7), Orikos (Cabanes 2001, 375), “all of southern Illyria” (Cabanes 1988a, 99; 1988c, 209) including northern Chaonia to the Shkumbi river (including Amantia and Byllis, Cabanes 1986, 124; Hammond 1989, 19), and the Athamanes, to the southeast of the Ioannina plain in the mountains (Hammond and Walbank 1988, 215 n.4). The Athamanes are not included in Plutarch's list of Pyrrhus's conquests, and served as mercenaries with Pyrrhus at Asculum, which may suggest that Pyrrhus had no *a priori* claim on their manpower (DH 20.1.2, 3.6), although the Acarnanians are also identified as mercenary, and with them Pyrrhus had an alliance, Klaffenbach 1955, 47–8. S. Funke (2000a, 209–10) concludes that Pyrrhus held the Macedonian areas, Ambracia, Athamania, Atintania, Acarnania, Corcyra, and possibly Leukas as “personal dependencies;” in (2000b, 108 n.4) she summarizes the evidence and concludes that Epirus “maintained its position, for the most part, even after Pyrrhos' death in 272.”



Map 6: The Northwest in Pyrrhus's Time.

Moreover, five of the new ethnics (Koroneiatas, Eryxios, Larruos, Bateloinios, and Hoplainos) are supplied by witnesses in manumissions; and it is perhaps no coincidence that the witness-ethnics are considerably harder to place geographically than the ethnics of those who are serving as *synarchontes*. Only three new ethnics appear among the *synarchontes* in C2 (Phylas, Orestos, Kuestos): none of these is outside Molossia or its ring of mountains, central Molossia as defined geographically. Notable too is the fact that although C2 is restored as having fifteen *synarchontes*, more than C1 (ten *damiorgoi*) and C3 (nine *hieromnameuontes*), ten of its fifteen ethnics have already appeared in C1 and C3. In other words, if the position of *damiorgos*, *hieromnamon*, or *synarchon* was one of political power, then power was not shifting far from the hands of those who had held it since the early days of the Molossian kingdom in the plain of Ioannina. Change is minimal, and not geographically extensive. If ethnics reflect the expansion of the Molossian state, they do so only by the indirect testimony of those who chose to manumit, or witness manumissions, at Dodona, many of whom cannot be placed on a map. And yet even this participation

could just as well attest to Dodona's prestige among its independent neighbors and the growing ease of travel in the area, not political domination or incorporation. Core control of the more restricted body of (sanctuary?) officials remained with the same tribes, with minor additions or substitutions of ethnics close to the plain of Ioannina, throughout; this kind of "rigidity" of membership was also characteristic of the Delphic amphictyony.²⁸⁰ Incorporation and promotion of outsiders within a purported *koinon* (and, indeed, the likelihood of its federal nature) look considerably less impressive from this perspective,²⁸¹ reinforcing the likelihood of the existence in the third century of a Molossian *ethnos*, centered on the plain of Ioannina and calling itself at times a *koinon*; a college of officials whose 'membership' had hardly changed since the fourth century drawn from this group and probably centered, geographically and in their responsibilities, on the sanctuary of Dodona itself; and, finally, a group of allies who were neither Molossians nor members of the college of officials. Both together were called by others 'Epirotes' and seen as led by the Molossoi and, especially, their kings.²⁸²

The allies, especially from important cities like Phoenikē (in Chaonia) and Gitanā (in Thesprotia), are not recorded in any of these inscriptions, making their exclusion from the group of 'Molossians' and from the board of officials likely: they were not incorporated into 'Molossia' or into the board (overseeing Dodona), and do not appear. This unincorporated status is also suggested by their absence in inscriptions recording the gift of various privileges to foreigners by the Molossians. For Chaonians and Thesprotians, as allies, occupied an *intermediate* position: they were not insiders ('Molossians'), but also not full and distant outsiders either, for it was only these complete outsiders who were rewarded, as individuals, with special privileges.

LIST 2. RECIPIENTS OF GRANTS OF PRIVILEGES (SEE MAP 6).

C1 (380–378):

politeia only, to two women, their *genea* (in one case) and their *e[k]gonois* (in both cases), from Arrhonos.

SGDI 1336 (Neoptolemus, son of Alexander):

ateleia and *enteleia* only, to an Atintanes, from "the allies of the Epirotes."

C3 (Neoptolemus, son of Alexander):

proxenia, *politeia*, *enktesis*, *ateleia*, *enteleia*, *asylia*, and *asphaleia*, to a *euergetes* from Thessalian Pherai and his *ekgonois*, both for them and for their possessions in war and peace; from the Molossians.

1340 (Pyrrhus?):

proxenia only, to the Acragantines, from the Molossians.

1341:

proxenia, *?[asylia]*, *asphaleia*, and *[ateleia]*, in war and peace, to an Argethios and his *[ek]gonois* (in Athamania); from the Molossians.

280 Rigidity, see Lefèvre 1998, 136–7 and 164 and Sánchez 2001, 466–71.

281 Sometimes very enthusiastically asserted, e.g., Hammond 1967, 531, 538–9; Cabanes 1976a, 164; 1976b, 398–9; 1981a, 24–5, 31; 1988a, 98–9; 2001, 376; 2004, 29; and Davies 2000, 255.

282 And there was the historical memory in Strabo 7.7.5 (C324), the Molossians "once ruled over all of Epirus."

C2:

politeia, [atelei]a, *enteleia*, *gās egktasis kai oikias* “just as to the other *euergetai* given citizenship,” to one *euergetes* (or possibly two *euergetai*) from Mondaia in Thessaly, from the *koinon* of the Molossians.

C6 (Alexander II, 272-ca. 242):

at[eleia] (and there might have been more), recipient unknown, from the Molossians.

1334 (Alexander II, 272-ca. 242):

isopoliteia only, to an Apollonian living in Theption and his *genea* and his *genos* from his *genea*, from the *koinon* of the Molossians.

1335 (Alexander II, 272-ca. 242):

politeia only, to a *euergetes* and his *genea*, origin unknown; “it seemed good to the *ekklesia* of the Molossians.”

1337 (Alexander II, 272-ca. 242):

[iso]politeia (and there might have been more), recipient unknown, from the *koinon* of the Molossians.

1345:

[poli]teia, to a Macedonian.

1343:

politeia only, to a man and his [genos from his gen]ea, living in Dodona.

1344:

politeia to a man, origin unknown, from the [koinon of the Molossi]ans.

Arrhonos is unknown. The Atintanes were to the northwest, probably in the northern Aous valley near Byllis and the plain of Apollonia,²⁸³ Thessalian Pherai was to the east, Athamania to the far south-east of the plain of Ioannina, in the mountains north-east of Ambracia. Theption is unknown, but an Apollonian, whose city lay to the northwest of Molossia, lived there; Macedonia was of course east. Only the Acragantines were very far away, but they came all the way to Dodona to receive their city’s reward. The second half of the inscription C2 (**FIGURE 10**) appears to honor one *euergetes* (or, a distant possibility, two) from Mondaia, in Thessaly, not two *euergetai* from Naupactus (Cabanès’s reading).

Starting with line 15, these are my readings of this stone:²⁸⁴

283 In the hills on the right (north) bank of the Aous river, Cabanès 1976a, 78–80 and 1981a, 30; Hammond (1967, 599–600 and 1989) argues for two split tribes, the Atintanes in the upper Drin valley and the Atintani in central Albania.

284 For lines 1–15, see above pp. 82–6. As Cabanès (1976a, 536) remarks, this stone becomes especially difficult to read in lines 16–18, but the lines are not totally effaced; rather, it is the right side of the stone that has suffered. The inscription has lines that are twenty-one or twenty-two letters long, and apart from line 16 (only twenty characters long) and line 20 (only nineteen characters long) I have managed to restore to this line-length. Cabanès also correctly read most of Μονδαίῃ in line 17, but thought it a personal name; an existing relationship with Mondaia is also suggested by a consultation of the oracle (Lhôte 2006, 47–51 no. 8B, Μονδαίαιτῶν τὸ κοινόν, with lunate sigmas and “une datation relativement basse”). Otherwise, my readings are different in lines 18 (where the Naupactians disappear) and 20–23, and my restoration different in 25.

[
 15 τοῦ ἔδωκε τὸ κοινὸν τ[ὼν Μο-]
 λοσσῶν πολιτείαν Ἀρ[ιστ-]
 οκλεῖ Μονδαιε[ῖ -]
 ἰγένεος ἐπε[ῖ]δὴ ἔδ[οξε] εὖε-
 ργέτας εἶμεν τῶν [Μολοσ-]
 20 σῶν καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ γ[ενεᾷ] ἐν]
 παντὶ Μολότοι κ[αὶ ἀτέλεια]
 ν καὶ ἐντέλειαν [καὶ γὰρ ἔγ-]
 κτασιν καὶ οἱ[κ]ίας [καθάπερ]
 τοῖς ἄλλοις ε[ὕεργέταις π-]
 25 ολιτευομέν[οις].]

16–17 [–Δι]οκλεῖνον Evangelidis 1957, 249–50, [Ἀριστ]οκλεῖ Cabanes 1976a, 536 (or Ἀγαθοκλεῖ or Θεμιστοκλεῖ, 538), Ἀρ[ιστ-] Lhôte 2006, 50 no. 8b; 17 fin. δα ΕΩΔΙΡ Evangelidis 1957, 150, Μονδαι[ῶι – -Ἀντ] Cabanes 1976a, 536, ΜΟΝΔΑΙ Kontorini 1987, 616, Μονδαιε[ῖ] or Μονδαι[άται], BE 2007.347; 18 init. ι γένεος Hammond 1967, 531; 18 fin. ΕΠ . . . ΔΗΕ . . . [εὖε] Evangelidis 1957, 150, Ν[αυ]πα[κτίοις] εὖε] Cabanes 1976a, 536 (a suggestion of Bousquet), Ν . Γ . . . ΗΕΑ Kontorini 1987, 616; 19 fin. [Μολοσ] Evangelidis 1957, 150; 20 fin. αὐ[τοῦς] καὶ γ[ενεᾶν] Evangelidis 1957, 150, αὐτούς Hammond 1967, 531, αὐτο[ῖ]ν καὶ γ[ενεᾶ] ὥς] Cabanes 1976a, 536, αὐ[τοῖ]ν Kontorini 1987, 616; 21 παντὶ . Ο [ἀτέλεια] Evangelidis 1957, 150, παντὶ Μολο[σσῶ]ν ἀτέλεια] Franke 1961, 287 n.25, Μολοσσῶν Hammond 1967, 531, παντὶ Μολο[σσῶ]ι κ[αὶ ἀτέλεια] Cabanes 1976a, 536, παντὶ Μολο[σσῶ]ι κ[αὶ] Kontorini 1987, 616; 20–21 γ[ενεᾶ] ἐν] | παντὶ Μολότοι κ[αὶ] Meyer; 22 fin. [καὶ γὰρ ἔγ] Evangelidis 1957, 150; 23 fin. ὅσα [τίμια πάντα] Evangelidis 1957, 150; 24 fin. ε[ὕεργέταις π] Evangelidis 1957, 150; 25 ολιτευμην Evangelidis 1957, 150, ολιτευομέν[οις ὑπάρχειν] Cabanes 1976a, 537.

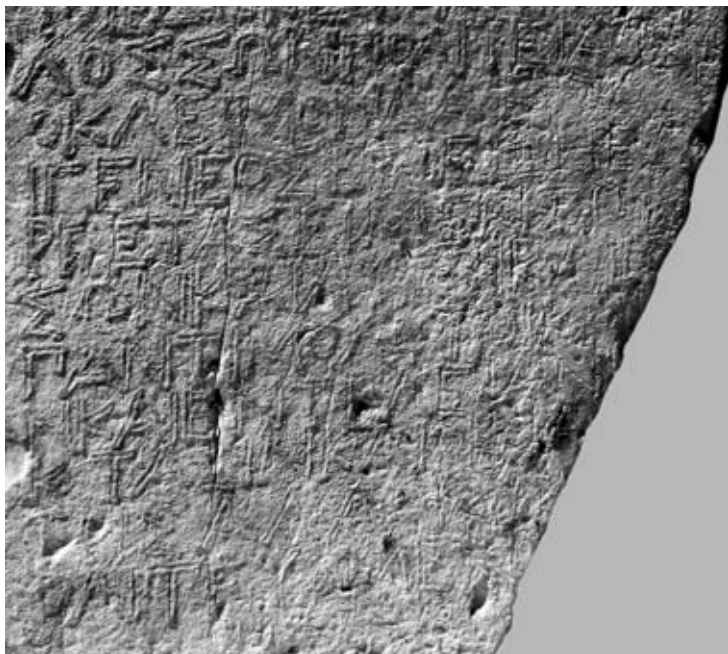


Figure 10. C2, lower half of stone.

“ . . . the *koinon* of the Molossians gave citizenship to Ar[ist]okles, Mondaieios, (son) of [.] igenes, since it decided that he was a benefactor of the Molossians; to him and his offspring, in all

Molotia, both *ateleia* and *enteleia* and *enktesis* of land and house, just as to the other benefactors who act as citizens.”²⁸⁵

Cabanes opted for a reading of line nineteen that had the benefactor(s) hailing from Naupactus, but this is (to my mind) unlikely; the origin of the benefactor is a Thessalian town. Thus all of those receiving privileges (apart from the women from Arrhonos) are men who lived in areas just beyond any Molossian sphere of influence; these were the men who were cultivated and rewarded, not those already allied. Those from areas in which the Molossians under Pyrrhus were strongly dominant (the Atintanes and the Thessalians) were granted their privileges either before his reign (C3) or after his death (*SGDI* 1341; C2).²⁸⁶ These friends rewarded with privileges lived in directions in which Alexander II himself had to fight in his lifetime: to the northwest, where friends among the Apollonians would be useful; to the east, against the Macedonians, with whom his successors reconciled; and to the south-east. Two (or three) are specifically honored for being *euergetai*, benefactors – all from Thessaly – while another *euergetes* has a name but no place of origin. Since the first two (or three) also received *enteleia*, a gift of tax-status equal to that of citizens in specifically economic matters,²⁸⁷ these benefactors were most likely men to whom wealth and its cultivation mattered, men who also in the third century had some reason to be moving goods in and out of ‘Epirus.’ The two grants of *politeia* to women and their offspring in the fourth century were different in quality from the grants in the third century, precisely because they were only of *politeia* and they were to and through women. In contrast, the homelands or cities of all the recipients of honors and privileges in the late fourth and third centuries reflect the opening of the heartland of Molossia to the wider political and economic world at this time: Pyrrhus’s conquests connected the Molossians to wider networks of people and trade in ways they had never been connected before.²⁸⁸ The heartland

285 Several problems remains: (1) one benefactor, or two? The initial presentation of the name is spacious enough that one might be able to fit a second name after Μονδαίῃ, with the assumption that this was a brother and the two shared the patronym [. . .] γένεος. (I have currently restored lines 16 and 17 as twenty letters long, but they could be twenty-two or even twenty-three letters long.) (2) [εὐε]ργέτας in lines 18–19 is, presumably, plural as well. But in line 20 I read the singular αὐτῶι quite clearly (Cabanes convinced himself he was reading a dual, but was forced to cram too many letters into the space available). I prefer to think that the inscriber forgot he was in indirect discourse after ἔδ[οξε], and wrote the northwest Greek nominative [εὐε]ργέτας after the verb “to be” rather than [εὐε]ργέταν. (3) lines 20–21 I restore following *SEG* LVII.510= Tziafalias and Helly 2007, 425 ll.69–70, where a similar alternation (τῶν Μολόσσων and ἐν Μολότοι) occurs. The spelling Μολότοι also occurs in *SGDI* 1347=no. 17 and C71=no. 23.

286 Neoptolemus’s dominion surely did not extend as far as the Atintanes to the northwest; it was for Pyrrhus to achieve this (above n.237), and even Pyrrhus’s incorporation of the Athamanes has been debated (above n.279). Pyrrhus in Thessaly: Plut. *Pyrrh.* 7.2.

287 Chaniotis 1986.

288 The connections changed in their nature, as Molossians reached out from Molossia; but the range of foreigners coming to Molossia also changed, although this can be suggested only impressionistically. Bronze coins – thought to reflect the movement of individuals rather than patterns of trade – found at Dodona between 300 and 150 BC derive 30.5% from Ambracia, 33.3% from the Epirote *koinon*, and 26.7% from non-Epirote cities or peoples, Oeconomides 1990,

remained Molossia, governed by king, its citizens now calling themselves collectively “Molossians” or a *koinon*; the next zone was that of the neighbors of Dodona, many of whom had sat on its board since the fourth century; the third was that of the allies, unincorporated and unfederated, neither insiders nor outsiders, but valued partners; and beyond them were enemies, and friends to be rewarded.

III.7. WHAT IS THE MOLOSSIAN RELATIONSHIP WITH THESPROTIA AND CHAONIA IN THE THIRD CENTURY?

If, as the redatings suggest, ‘the Molossians’ and ‘the Molossian *koinon*’ were third-century names only for those who lived in and around the plain of Ioannina, and if there is no evidence for ‘incorporation’ of others into the so-called ‘Molossian federal state’ consequent upon Molossian expansion in the fourth and third centuries, then it becomes virtually impossible to imagine that Thesprotia and Chaonia could have been anything but allies – not just unincorporated and unfederated but, indeed, independent – of the Molossians before the death of the last member of the royal house in 232 BC.²⁸⁹ Moreover, what little direct evidence there is of the nature of the relationship between Molossia and the two coastal areas to her southwest and west also suggests independence (and therefore alliance) rather than conquest, subjugation, and obliteration of their separate identities.²⁹⁰

265 and 270 (chart). Hammond’s (1967, 726–7) list of coins “in the Dodona case” (possibly coming “from various sites in Epirus,” 731) at the Ioannina Museum includes coins (third-century or after) from Apollonia (2), Corcyra (1), Dyrrhachium (2), Thessaly (5), Achaea (6), Elis (1), and (724) the Roman Republic, while coins from the fifth or fourth century came from Corinth (1), Larisa (2), Boeotia (2), Chalcis (32, a hoard? Hammond 1967, 731), Elis (1), Siccyon (2), Aegina (2), Athens (3), Syracuse (2), and Macedon (12, Philip II and Alexander only). Inscribed dedications from the third century (in addition to the Zacynthian one discussed above nn.201–3) come from Stratus in Acarnania (Dieterle 2007, 89 and 380 F596; ca. 300), Aetolia (89, 372 F295), Leukas (88, 372 F296) – probably a possession of Pyrrhus’s, then later held by Alexander II in 242, Rigsby and Hallof 2001, 343–4; and two unknown cities, Lechoios (91, 375 F411: Lechaion?) and Paleis (91, 380 F600); in the fifth century inscribed dedications had come from an Illyrian (87, 377 F483) and Athens (after a sea-battle with the Peloponnesians, *Syll.*³ 73=Carapanos 1878a, 47 no. 20 and Fränkel 1878, ca. 460 BC – or 429 BC, Haussoullier 1881, 18; Dieterle 2007, 92 and 380 F598+599). The Naia brought athletes from all over (although most of these attestations are from after 150 BC): victors came from Priene (*IvP* 234), Athens (*IG* II-III² 3147 col. 3 ll.4–5 and 3152+3153), Sikyon (*IG* IV.428 ll.8–9), Tegea (*IG* V.2.118 ll.21–6=*Syll.*³ 1080), discussed Cabanes 1976a, 339–40 (who in 1988b, 62–73 dates several of these after 192 BC). At least one sailor’s question to the oracle is dated to the third century: Dakaris 1971a, 90.

289 Incorporation of the Thesprotians ca. 330 has been fundamental to Cabanes’s position and accepted ever since (see, e.g., Lévêque 1997, 74), although it was doubted by Salmon 1987, 132; Cabanes’s published response that follows Salmon only refers back to the arguments made already about *SGDI* 1351 (above p. 35), and he has never added to them. Chaonia: Cabanes 1976b, 399 (before or during the reign of Pyrrhus); 1981a, 30 (time of Neoptolemus, son of Alexander); 1981b, 107, 1989a, 150, and 1996c, 199 (time of Pyrrhus); 2001, 377 (between 330 and 300 BC); 2007, 235 (by 296 BC, since Pyrrhus founded Antigoneia in their territory); S. Funke (2000a, 103 n.4; 209) thinks under Pyrrhus.

290 Although Hammond (1967, 501) argued that the Thesprotii were already “under Chaonian

Pyrrhus's known efforts to extend Molossian dominion were to the north, pushing from the plain of Ioannina through the valleys of the Drino and Aous and fighting or treating with the Illyrians, who had sheltered him as a boy; and to the south, as he took Ambracia in 295 and acquired Corcyra by marriage around the same time.²⁹¹ Nothing is said, earlier or later, about activity directly to the west or southwest. Indeed, the Thesprotians and Chaonians in these areas (as well as the Athamanes to the southeast and the Acarnanians to the south and southeast) fought as separate contingents under Pyrrhus in Italy.²⁹² A sense of separateness was maintained in other ways as well: the Chaonians granted *proxenia* to a Corcyraean in the middle of the third century, while Thesprotians may still have been minting under Pyrrhus.²⁹³ Both Thesprotians and Chaonians may have maintained cult centers "of the *Stammesverbandes*," the Thesprotians at the Nekromanteion, the Chaonians (possibly) at Phoinikē.²⁹⁴ Two Thesprotians were also honored as Aetolian *proxenoi* at the end of that century (in the time of the Epirote *koinon*), in a list of such grants made by the Aetolians that also specified proxenies given at the same time to "Klearchos and Nikanor, (sons) of Antanor, [.].deonoi Apeirotes."²⁹⁵ The Thesprotians in the same list were not "Thesprotioi Apeirotai," but merely "Thesprotians." Thus, whatever the internal arrangements in the Epirote *koinon* (after 232) were, both the Thesprotian and Chaonian identities and identifications persisted within it. The Aetolians, as very near neighbors, appreciated the distinctions – as, indeed, they appreciated distinctions of *ethnē* within "Apeiros" itself, identifying the Epirote recipients of their privileges as not just "[.].deonoi Apeirotes," but also as "European," "Enchestan," and (in a similar list from 185/4 BC) "Cherbadan" Apeirotes.²⁹⁶

command," subject to "some kind of dependence" during the Peloponnesian War, he noted that by 334 they were one of the many independent tribes allied with Alexander I (1967, 559), and in the *koinon* of the Epirotes after 232 were "on an equality" with the Chaonians and Molossians (1967, 640).

- 291 He subsequently lost Corcyra to Demetrius in 290 (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 10.5), and recovered it in 281 (Lévy 1957b, 174–6).
- 292 Separate contingents, DH 20.1 and 3 (Cabanis (1981b, 103) asserts that this does not disprove the existence of federalism); also Plut. *Pyrrh.* 19.2 (Chaonians and Molossians with Pyrrhus; in a speech by Appius Claudius Caecus), 28.1 (Chaonians), 30.5 (Molossian horsemen).
- 293 Molota, son of Aischrion, Corcyraean, as Chaonian *proxenos*, de Maria 2004, 342 (although Hatzopoulos (1996, 1:367) had thought the granting of *proxenia* in 'Apeiros' "a monopoly of the federal state," and in Macedonia all (but one) proxeny-decrees come from cities not belonging to Macedonia proper); Thesprotian coin at Cassopē with quadriga, dated to time of Pyrrhus, Tzouvara-Souli 1996, 503–4 n.47.
- 294 Moustakis 2006, 161 (Nekromanteion), 170–1 (on where *ἡ πόλις ἡ τῶν Χαόνων* was (Lhôte 2006, 59–61 no. 11, see above n.33), likely Phoinikē); with P. Funke 2009, 104.
- 295 Aetolian *proxenia* to "Eucharon and Eunostides, [patronym], Thesprotians" (*IG IX*² 1.31 II.46–7; Thyrrheum, end third century).
- 296 *IG IX*² 1.31 I.132 and 1.32 I.42 (185/4); in another inscription, the Aetolians observe a Chaonian tribal sub-division as well ("Kleophanes son of Agapetos, Chaonian Peukestos," *IG IX*² 2.243, third century). This apparent independence of Thesprotians and Chaonians is also paralleled at Delphi, where both a Chaonian and a Thesprotian were identified as such among those honored at Delphi, Flacelière 1937, II.95 (Antanor, son of Euthymides, the Chaonian, *FD* 3.4 no. 409, third century) and II.75a.2 (Alkimos, son of Nikander, the Thesprotian, ca. 222–221 BC, *FD* 3.2 no. 83, 215 BC). Hammond (1967, 654) therefore concluded that the absence of the word *Epirotes* does not mean that "a man's city or tribe was not a member of

So if even under the Epirote *koinon*, when the kings were no more and Chaonians and Thesprotians as well as Molossians could be *strategoi* of the new *koinon*, those same Chaonians and Thesprotians stressed their separate identities and were not perceived by a near-neighbor as necessarily subsumed as individuals into the larger entity known as the “Epirotes,” it is very likely that in the earlier third century they were not subsumed into “Apeiros” either (nor had been subsumed into “Molossia” in the fourth). Charops the Elder, an important figure in the Epirote *koinon* after 232 BC and probably one of its *strategoi*, identified himself in a dedication at Dodona as an “Opatan Thesprotian,”²⁹⁷ and is likely to have seen himself in those terms.

Within Thesprotia (and probably Chaonia), as well as within Molossia, not only self-identifying *ethnē* but *ethnē* calling themselves *koina* continued to exist. They were active as (what appear to be) smaller communities or regional units, like the *koinon* of the Pergamioi (in Thesprotia), which passed a decree of *philia* and *proxenia* with the *koinon* of the Aterargoi (in Molossia),²⁹⁸ but also on the larger regional level as well, as recent discoveries show. Gitana was the most important city in Thesprotia.²⁹⁹ Founded in the fourth century, it was destroyed in 167 by the Romans, who burned the city and with it a house that is described as “an archive-

the Epirote League” and this is technically true, but usage can nonetheless convey something about perception. It is therefore possible that references to “Simakos son of Phalakrios, Epirote from among the Thesprotians,” *Syll.*³ 1076 (Epidauros; end third century or later) and “[–] tos son of Lysias, Epirote from among the Chaonians,” *IG* II-III² 2313 I.34 (Athens, after 191 BC) are using “Epirote” as either a political or a geographical adjective. With the simple but unqualified adjective “Epirote” (*IG* II-III² 1956 I.189, ca. 300 BC and 2313 I.24, after 191 BC; *IG* XI.2.199B1.15, 205.7, 219A1.33, 262.1, 287B33, and *ID* 298A4, two dedicated *phialai* of “Antipater the Epirote” tracked through the Delian inventories between 273 and 240 BC; *IG* XI.4.635, two Epirotes honored at Delos, mid-third century BC; *I.Oropos* 136, proxeny-decree, 240–180 BC, and 586, undated dedication, both Epirotes; and Arvanitopoulos 1909, 232–4 no. 46, 250–225 BC, possibly a dedication, in Thessaly) one cannot tell at all. On different levels of ethnics and the resultant preservation of identity, see also P. Funke 2009, 102–3.

297 C18 (altar in the *bouleuterion* at Dodona, before 192 BC; Cabanes (2001, 377 n.34) argues that he is only identified as Thesprotian because he is dedicating in the Molossian area of the Epirote League). Cabanes (1994, 177) argues that Charops the Elder (*princeps Epirotarum*, Livy 32.11.1) is likely to have been Epirote *strategos*, perhaps even more than once; Hammond (1967, 619) thought him “chief citizen” or “influential leader.” In C17, the Epirote *koinon* honors another Thesprotian who also is not identified as an Epirote.

298 Pergamioi with the Aterargoi (in Passaron, on the Ioannina plain) between 232 and 167 (Cabanes 2001, 377), C35 (a reflection of transhumant practices and agreements, Cabanes 1976a, 381–2; 1981b, 103–4; 1985, 353–4, 1998b, 442); at (1976a, 369) he argued that this renewal of friendship, because dated by a Molossian *prostatas*, proved that Thesprotia had long been subsumed into the larger Molossian state – but the presence of the Molossian *prostatas* in this inscription is only a function of the placement of the stele at Passaron, as he notes for other inscriptions from Molossia dating to the Epirote *koinon*, Cabanes 1976a, 370. And if *SGDI* 1346 (=no. 9) has been correctly restored as having a *prostatas* “of the Amymnoi,” then that too implies the continued existence of a smaller communal entity at the time of ‘King Alexander.’ Hammond (1967, 652–5) argues that *all* tribal *koina* “were as active under the Epirote league as before” (quotation 654).

299 Hammond 1967, 585 (walls), 651–2; meeting of Epirote League there in 172, Livy 42.38.1; for what is being discovered through excavation, see Preka-Alexandri 1993, 103–6; 1996 (this also definitively establishes the name of the city). Most recently on Gitana, P. Funke *et al.* 2004, 345 and P. Funke 2009, 106–8.

house” or “a house with archives.”³⁰⁰ Among the 2500 seals excavated from this burned archive are those “of the Aetolians,” of the Macedonians (and Philip V in particular), “of the Molossians,” “of the Epirotes” – and “of the Thesprotians.”³⁰¹ The destroyed documents in the archive must have been largely the more recent ones, as both logic and the predominance of seals dating to Philip V, among the seals of the Macedonians, suggest.³⁰² At least it is highly unlikely that the documents sealed with the seal of “the Thesprotians” date *only* from 360–330 BC, the only stretch of time in which Cabanes believed a Thesprotian *koinon* existed, before being incorporated into the Molossian;³⁰³ some of these seals should date later in the life of the archive, and therefore the *ethnos* or *koinon* itself as a self-conscious unit must have survived until at least 232, and probably enjoyed an uninterrupted existence down to, and perhaps through, 167. The same argument should also apply to (the *koinon*? of) the Molossians: this self-designation could not have been only fourth-century, as Cabanes argued, but must have existed considerably longer than that, to give it a chance of leaving some seals in an archive burned in 167.³⁰⁴ The seals from this archive, in other words, give a view, previously unsuspected, into the existence and vitality of a possible, independent, and regional *koinon* in Thesprotia (if this is what “of the Thesprotians” implies), in the company of its powerful neighbors the Aetolians, the Macedonians, the Molossians, and the Epirotes.

This *koinon* of the Thesprotians is also attested epigraphically twice, through an inscription that names its *prostatas* and through an inscription that names the (restored) *koinon*. Cabanes dated the first, C49 (=no. 28), to the fourth century between 360 and 330, because he assumed no *koinon* of the Thesprotians with its own *prostatas* could exist after, and as long as, the Thesprotians were incorporated into the Molossian ‘federal state.’³⁰⁵ If (the *koinon* of) the Thesprotians can still function (even if merely in an “administrative capacity”)³⁰⁶ after 330, then this inscription,

300 Gitana in existence by second half of fourth century, Cabanes 1976a, 507; Dakaris (1971a, 20) had asserted a late fifth-century foundation. Destruction, Preka-Alexandris 1989, 163 and Preka-Alexandri 2001, 168 (250 coins of the Epirote *koinon* found in the destruction levels of the stoa).

301 Preka-Alexandris 1989 and Preka-Alexandri 1996; summarized Kontorini 1999, 277–80; no statistics have to my knowledge been published (although the total is ca. 2500 seals, Preka-Alexandri 1996, 196). The apparent absence of any seals of “the allies of the Epirotes” (*SGDI* 1336) again, however, suggests that this was not the name of an acknowledged political entity that lasted for a hundred years.

302 Kontorini (1999, 279) also notes the similarity of letter-forms to those of Philip V, and surmises that many of the Thesprotian seals belong to the approximate time of his reign.

303 Cabanes 1976a, 156–7 (on the short-lived existence of the Thesprotian *koinon*).

304 Cabanes 1976a, 171–2; Gauthier (1979, 125) thought the Molossian *koinon* lasted until 232 BC.

305 Cabanes (1976a, 156–7) relied on Evangelides’s assessment of the letter forms, but then made this inscription part of his historical interpretation, so that an inscription dated by a *prostatas* of the Thesprotians *could not* have been put up between 330 and 167; this inscription thus became proof of the autonomy of Thesprotia in the earlier fourth century (e.g., 1976a, 156–7 and 176), and the absence of other inscriptions (and coins) became proof of the loss of autonomy after 330.

306 Kontorini 1999, 279 (reporting on the Gitana seals); Cabanes (2001, 375) also now calls Gitana (along with cities in Chaonia) an “administrative center.”

dated only by a *prostatas* of the Thesprotians and a priest of Themis, need not for that reason be a fourth-century inscription.³⁰⁷ Only letter-forms of this inscription on stone are left to suggest a date, and this weak form of dating can bring the inscription down by as much as a century, since its letter-forms most closely resemble those of C2 and C6 (from Dodona) and C48 (=no. 31, from Phoenikē) – the first two redated to the third century (above), and the third already dated to 230–167 by Cabanes.

The letters of the inscriptions from Gitana (C49=no. 28, **FIGURE 11**) and Phoenikē (C48=no. 31, **FIGURE 12**) are not as crowded as those in C2 (**above figs. 9–10**), but many of the letters are shaped similarly. Both have straight-barred alphas and omegas that float off the line, sometimes tilting slightly; in C49 (=no. 28), two (lines 2 and 9) are a little pinched in at the bottom (as in C6, **above fig. 4**). Upsilons are often just a little taller than the rest of the letters (as in *SGDI* 1368, a dedication from later in the reign of king Pyrrhus, **above pp. 31–2**). Sigmas in the Gitana inscription are more squarely placed on the line, and pi in the Phoenikē inscription has two vertical hastas that go all the way down to the line. The Phoenikē inscription is thus, probably, the latest of the three, but not necessarily by all that much.

A second inscription (*SGDI* 1370; **FIGURE 13**), on a fragmentary bronze plaque from Dodona, does mention the “[*koinon*] of the Thesprotians,” but for this reason Cabanes has dated it after 167 BC – again, on the assumption that such a *koinon* could not exist between 330 and 167.³⁰⁸

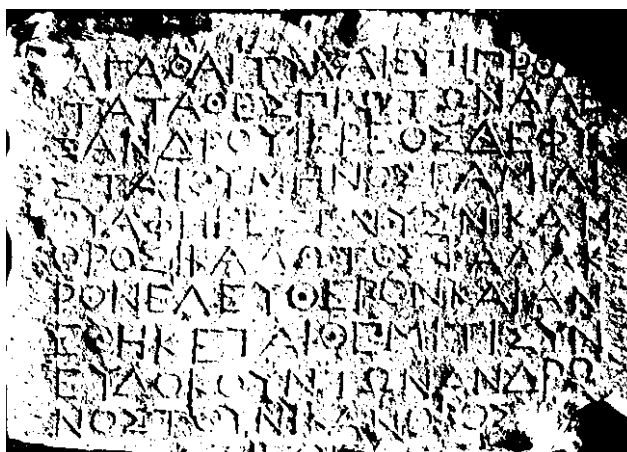


Figure 11. C49, from Gitana.

307 The (post-232) agreement between the Pergamioi and Aterargoι (C35) dates by *prostatai* of both groups and by *prostatas* of the Molossians, but not by *strategos* of the Epirotes, so the absence of the name of the most important person, like a king or a *strategos*, in the dating formula is not necessarily an indicator of ‘independence.’

308 Carapanos 1878a, 64 and pl. XXXII.3=Cabanes 1976a, 551 (C26) with Cabanes 1988b, 57 (where he notes the letter-forms); as Cabanes reports, the dating of this fragment has varied widely, Franke (1955, 45 n.198) dating it between 330 and 230, and Dakaris placing it not earlier than the third century (1960a [1962] 30 n.64), or the beginning of the second (1972, 86 no. 251); Hammond (1967, 563) had also dated it before 230 BC.

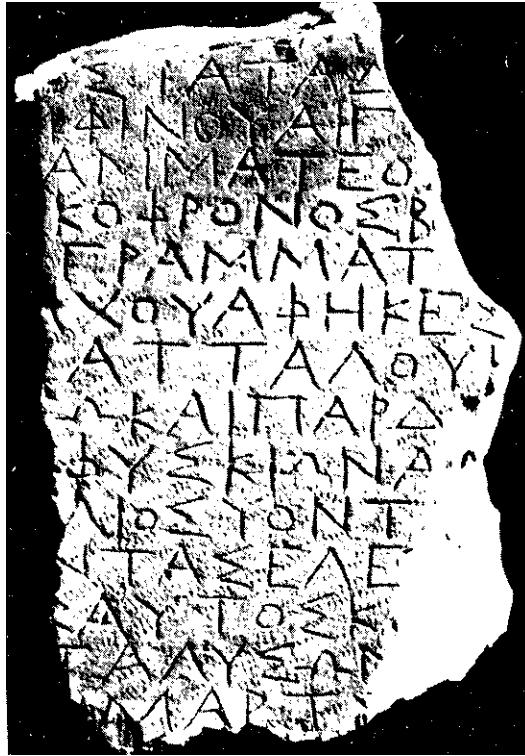


Figure 12. C48, from Phoenikē.

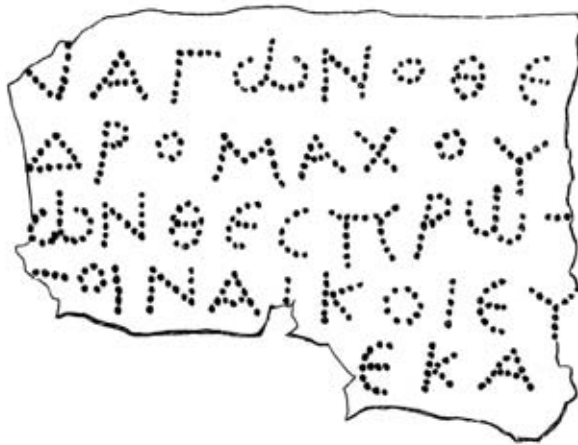


Figure 13. *SGDI* 1370 (Dodona).

This is an honorific inscription, seemingly to an agonothete, from the “[*koinon*] of the Thesprotians . . . and the *Naikoi euthynoi*,” the “judges of the Naia,” found at Dodona. Its lack of a dating formula³⁰⁹ proves only that it is a fragmentary inscription, not that there were, at time of its generation, no *strategoi* of the Epirotes by which to date. Rather, because it uses lunate epsilon, sigma, and omega, as well as pi with long, curving second hasta – all characteristic of inscriptions on bronze at Dodona some time after 205 BC – but also because it is closely involved with affairs of the sanctuary (honoring an official of the Naia festival) and was found at Dodona, it is much more likely that it was placed there before 167, and indeed sometime between 232 and 167.

Since, therefore, the (implied or restored) *koinon* of the Thesprotians, whether a political institution or merely a community, must have been in existence, and active, after 330, and probably indeed after 232 as well, the relationship of the *koinon* of the Molossians and the *koinon* of the Epirotes (after 232) to the Thesprotians (as well as the Chaonians) is much more likely to have been one first of alliance (rather than incorporation or subjugation) and then, after 232, confederation of independent peoples: as with the Chaonians, so too with the Thesprotians. Both third-century alliance and post-232 federation were close and mutually profitable, based on agreement and accommodation rather than subjugation or subordination, for all three entities had a relationship forged out of the familiarities of long contact, the necessities of extreme proximity, and relations of transhumance that secured the prosperity of all three areas – but only when they worked in concert with each other. From this perspective, the king’s traditional promise to the *Epirotes* to rule according to the laws at Passaron (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 5.5) was in part to establish and maintain the right kind of relationship with long-term allies like the Thesprotians and the Chaonians in particular, and their oath in turn to protect the Molossian kingdom was no empty verbiage: Thesprotians and Chaonians were particularly well-placed to do Molossia harm.³¹⁰ So these allies in particular needed each other, and the oath of the king and the ‘Epirotes’ reflected this.

Did this alliance, initially sworn to the Molossian king, survive the end of the Aeacid house in 232? There is no reason to think that it did not, at least for fifty years, but on the basis of a new arrangement with the Molossians once the kingship had come to an end. The new *koinon* of the Epirotes after 232 was characterized by the absence of any kings and by the existence of a *strategos Apeiroton* (and possibly

309 Cabanes (1976a, 551) thought that the agonothete was part of the dating formula, and therefore that this document had to derive from a moment when there were no *strategoi*. But [–]ν ἀγωνοθῆ[ταιν] in line one is necessarily restored to be an accusative because of the preceding article in the accusative, and in other inscriptions (of the Epirotes) in which men are honored ἀρετᾶς ἔνεκα or the like at Dodona (C14-15, C17 – and notice the ἔνεκα partially restored in line 5 here) the men also appear in the accusative case. The *euthynoi* (“correctors”) may have been examining financial matters in particular, but there is not enough evidence to establish this as a certainty, Moustakis 2006, 146.

310 And, perhaps, vice versa: Hammond (1967, 573) notes that the Chaonians did not build fortified sites on their inland frontiers, “presumably [because they] did not fear attacks from inland.”

more than one);³¹¹ by more formal, or more epigraphically visible, procedures;³¹² by an *ekklēsia*, and a *synedrion* whose composition is unknown;³¹³ by the simultaneous existence of smaller *koina*;³¹⁴ and probably by fewer allies, since Ambracia left the alliance in 232 and more northerly friends looked for, and found, new and better protection against Illyrian depredation.³¹⁵ Cabanes argued that the Epirote *koinon* was a federation of two states only, Chaonians and Molossians, emphasizing a dating formula that included a Chaonian *prostatas* paired with a Molossian *strategos* within Chaonia (at Buthrotum), but a Molossian *prostatas* for the same *strategos* at Dodona.³¹⁶ (Thesprotia, in his thinking, had long been subsumed into invisible subservience.) Yet one could imagine that Chaonia's 'special position' was the logical consequence of a preceding seventy-five or hundred years' independent alliance, and that the same was true for Thesprotia. Both (probably) had *prostatai* in

311 Tréheux (1975) argued for one, Salmon (1987) for three (one of them eponymous), on the basis of Livy 29.12.11 (three *praetores* at the Peace of Phoenikē in 205) and an Epirote decree from Magnesia-on-the-Maeander (206 BC) referring to an Epirote “*strategos* and his *synarchontes*” (*I.Magn.* 32 ll.37–8); Cabanes, in his comment following Salmon's paper, strongly disputed this conclusion, maintaining the position of (only) two autonomous elements (Chaonia and Molossia), and only one *strategos*, in the Epirote *koinon*.

312 The proposer, “having examined the matter and given an account” (διαλεγέντος . . . καὶ ἀπολογιζαμένου, C16), “having presented a written request for access . . . and given an account” (ποθόδομα γραψαμένου or γραψαμένου . . . καὶ ἀπολογιζομένου, *SGDI* 1338–1339, with Gauthier 1985, 193 n.12), or “having been brought in and given an account” (ποτιπορευθέντος . . . καὶ ἀπολογιζομένου, C34), on which “the Apirotes” (*SGDI* 1339) or “the *ekklēsia*” (*SGDI* 1338) voted.

313 *Ekklēsia*, C16; the *synedrion* had a *grammateus* (*I.Magn.* 32 ll.37–8; *SGDI* 1339), but (as is true also of the *ekklēsia*) we know nothing about whether its members were ‘representatives’ from tribes or even from the three major area of Molossia, Chaonia, and Thesprotia. Hatzopoulos (2001, 385–6) notes that *synedria* appeared when monarchies or “monarchic constitutions” were set aside – in Epirus, Thessaly, and Macedonia.

314 See above n.298. Although Cabanes (e.g., 2001, 377) hypothesizes a hierarchical relationship between smaller or local *koina* and the larger regional *koina*, we simply cannot tell whether the smaller were the building-blocks of the larger. C35 records the renewal of friendship and *proxenia* between two smaller *koina* without the apparent intervention or even approval of any larger governing body (the Molossian *prostatas* merely provides the date).

315 See (e.g.) Cabanes 1987b, 24.

316 Special position, as, e.g., Cabanes in *BE* 1988.796; 2007, 237–8. Two inscriptions: C75 and *SEG* XLVIII.683 (*I.Bouthr.* 1), see Cabanes's comment on Salmon 1987, 134; also 1989a, 150–1; 1998a, 29–31. Cabanes also stresses repeatedly the elevated status of the Chaonians after 232 (1983a, 9–10; 1985, 350; 1987a, 110; 2001, 377 n.31) – although this cannot prove that the Chaonians were subordinated before 232 – by referring (1976a, 355–7) to the Delphic *theorodokoi* list of 230–220, where both Phoenikē and Dodona appeared. But Phoenikē had appeared in the *theorodokoi* list of ca. 330 as well, and ‘Chaonia’ had appeared in the 360 list, so these lists can prove no *change* in status, while the two inscriptions C75 and *SEG* XLVIII.683, which could well show Chaonia as an equal partner, do not rule out the possibility that an Epirote *strategos* would be accompanied by a Thesprotian *prostatas* in Thesprotia (noted also by Hammond 1967, 566), and elsewhere Cabanes acknowledges the existence of multiple *prostatai* in the Epirote *koinon* (as in, e.g., *SGDI* 1346=no. 9): Cabanes 1985, 349 (although dating 1346 to Alexander I, before 330 BC); 2001, 377 n.33. If there is change in 232, then Chaonia moves from ally to federated partner, and there is no compelling reason to think that Thesprotia could not have undergone the same transformation.

the fifth century, and both continued to have them into the third or early second.³¹⁷ A Thesprotian *koinon* in existence for several centuries, with a thriving chief city (Gitana), provides a logical parallel for the Chaonian *koinon* and its thriving chief city, Phoenikē. Both Gitana and Phoenikē – a “rich and well-appointed city” (Pol. 2.7.5) – were prosperous, perhaps because both were on passable if not easy routes into the interior of Molossia to the east; the importance of such routes, so crucial for transhumance, would only increase in a world in which the easier routes to coastal lands in both north (Drino and Aous valleys) and south (Ambracia) were not as accessible as they had been before 232 BC. Such prosperity also suggests good relations for Thesprotians and Chaonians with the third-century kings and the people of Molossia, and thus a well-established and long-lasting alliance among all three.³¹⁸

The split between the Molossians (on the one hand) and the Chaonians and (at least the northwestern) Thesprotians on the other over the Third Macedonian War, however, also suggests that the common interests that drew them together in the third and earlier second centuries could diverge under pressure.³¹⁹ In the context of the subsequent division that preceded or characterized actual war, one (unidentified) *koinon* could ask the oracle at Dodona, “Is it safe to make a *sympoliteia* with

317 Fifth century, Thuc. 2.80, who said that the Chaonians were “without kings,” and were led by two *prostatai* (and see Cabanes 2004, 17); “and the *abasileutoi* Thesprotians fought with them,” which implied to Larsen (1968, 274) that the Thesprotians were led by the same (type of) official. In later inscriptions, see C49 (=no. 28; Gitana) and C47 and C48 (=nos. 30–1; Phoenikē).

318 The only evidence of a possibly closer and more legally integrated relationship is provided by the citation of the (still mysterious: see Cabanes 1982, with references to earlier interpretations, and Kränzlein 1997, 205–9) “law of the childless” in manumissions at both Dodona and Buthrotum. Yet because the Buthrotum citations all occur after 167 BC, they cannot prove that the same law was in simultaneous use in the two areas of Epirus; Buthrotum may have ‘inherited’ or ‘adopted’ such a law after 167 BC. Cabanes (1989a, 171) suggests that the law dates back to the time of the Aeacid kings, and was therefore inherited by the various states (*koinon* of the Epirotes, *koinon* of the Prasaboi) that succeeded the monarchy. Pol. 2.7.11 also claimed that the Gallic mercenaries in Phoenikē were supposedly guardians of “democracy and the laws,” which Hammond (1967, 648) thought was a “fashionable rather than descriptive” term: there were no real laws ‘of the Epirotes’ for the Gauls to guard (and Polybius might have been heavily ironic, given that the Gauls sacked Phoenikē, and were thus guardians of nothing).

319 Split, Livy 43.21.4, 43.23.6: *auxilia* from the Chaonians and Thesprotians taken to the Roman siege of Phanota, along with “whatever other Epirotes there were” fighting with the Romans, *si qui alii Epirotae erant* (Oost (1954, 79) estimates 6000 Epirote troops total); the Molossians went with Perseus, Pol. 30.7.2. Only the southwestern Thesprotians, Cabanes 1998a, 19; the line may have been along the Thuamis river, since Gitana was sacked in 167, but Thesprotians who lived north of this river, who may have blended or assimilated with Chaonians (Charops the Elder, “Thesprotian Opatan,” was the senior figure of a family later considered Chaonian) were spared. Riginos (2001, 175–80) reports on a rich family tomb that spans the second century at Kephalochoori (Plagia), northwest of Gitana and again north of the Thuamis. Hammond (1967, 687) thought that the Romans limited themselves to destroying cities in Atintania and Molossia itself, but Elea was also sacked (Riginos 2001, 171), and Cassopē and settlements in her territory maltreated, after 167 (Dakaris 1971b, 67 no. 244). Picard and Gjongecaj (2001, 247) argue that Cassopē’s second-century coinage was minted to assist the Molossian war-effort in 171–167, which would therefore confirm that Cassopē had indeed made a bad decision for which she was subsequently punished.

the Molossians?” – the Molossians being, yet again, identifiable as themselves as they took the fateful step of adhering to the Macedonian alliance.³²⁰ As a consequence, Aemilius Paullus himself could treat all three as separate entities, reserving the most severe, indeed crushing, punishment for the Molossians themselves.

A redating of most of the earlier inscriptions from Dodona as third-century rather than fourth has thus prompted a re-examination of some long-established tenets of Molossian history. These include the nature of Molossian government in the fourth century (strongly monarchical, and not ruled by a federal *koinon*, III.1); the extent of Molossian expansion in the fourth century (not very great, III.2); events after the death of king Alexander I (more chaos and less constitutional activity than has been assumed, III.3, but his alliance with non-Molossian Epirotes was maintained, and a sense of Molossian community developed by the end of the century, III.4); the nature of Molossian state and government in the third century (not a federal state masquerading as an ‘Epirote symmarchy’ but a monarchic kingdom working in partnership with a Molossian ‘community’ [*koinon*, III.5] that itself has not expanded to include others in any traceable way, III.6); and the relationship between the Thesprotians, Chaonians, and Molossians before 232 BC and the founding of the Epirote *koinon* in that year – one of alliance rather than subordination that formed the basis for subsequent federation (III.7). In these ways Molossia is a monarchical state slowly building political institutions on religious foundations, experiencing changes in its sense of self that had an impact on these institutions rather than undertaking changes in these institutions that were directly and self-consciously political; and a state in development on the same timetable as many of its neighbors, and with a distribution of inscriptions that follows the same pattern.

320 *SGDI* 1590, dated 170–168 BC by Lhôte 2006, 20, 51–5 no. 9 and 2004, 121 – a lamella that uses lunate letters of a style Lhôte calls “very advanced,” as well as a splay pi.

IV. A NEW HISTORY OF MOLOSSIA

On the basis of these seven arguments, a brief history of Molossia in the late fifth, fourth, and third centuries should have a shape and dynamic whose central theme is more likely as follows: in Molossia the kings, until the last quarter of the third century BC, are the most important and active agents (for good or ill), leading a mountain *ethnos* with internal, local ‘sub-tribal’ ethnic affiliations, rudimentary institutions associated with the sanctuary at Dodona, and an only slowly developing ‘tribal’ and regional self-consciousness. The end of the monarchic state in 232 BC was not a constitutional inevitability on Molossia’s progressive path to a fully federal state,³²¹ but an unfortunate, unexpected, and undesired freak of fortune brought about by the precipitous and unforeseen deaths of the remaining members of the royal house. Kingship and the alliances of kings were always central to the stability, visibility, and achievements of Molossia in the classical and Hellenistic periods.

The Aeacid king Tharyps, lord of the Molossoi, was a child during the Peloponnesian War, when in 429 his people fought briefly on the Spartan side, led by his guardian (ἐπίτροπος) Sabylinthus.³²² This kingship was thought ancient, believed indeed to be descended from Neoptolemus the son of Achilles in the heroic age, and even in the last quarter of the fifth century, when the two warlike tribal peoples to the west of Molossia, the Chaonians and the Thesprotians, had lost or abandoned their kings,³²³ the Molossians maintained theirs. In this they were like the Macedonians to their east, with whom contacts (whether profitable or damaging) and parallels would always be strong, and who in 429 sent military assistance, secretly, as well.³²⁴ These associations with the Macedonians began with Neoptolemus the son of Achilles, who according to legend had passed through Macedonia on his way to Molossia,³²⁵ and continued (in more historical times) with Tharyps’s grandfather

321 Cross 1932, 89: “. . . the weaker crown of Epirus went down for ever in the republican storm.”

322 Thuc. 2.80.6.

323 Neoptolemus, see sources and discussion in S. Funke 2000a, 23–101. Neighbors, Thuc. 2.80.5, 81.4 (Chaonians most warlike); P. Funke (2009, 97–9) argues that, despite the implications of Thucydides’s language, neither people necessarily had once had kings. The Chaonians seem to have been the most powerful, Strabo 7.7.5 (C324), with S. Funke 2000a, 119–23 (skeptical).

324 Cross (1932, 17, 24) has two ringing paragraphs on these parallels; they both spoke similar dialects, Errington 1986, 47 (cf. Plut. *Pyrrh.* 11.4, Pyrrhus’s soldiers can pass for Macedonian); also Hammond 1967, 539 (royal pages: Alexander I of Molossia had *regii pueri*, βασιλικοὶ παῖδες, Livy. 8.24.12) and 567 (military organization); Davies 2000, 251 (type of monarchy, although he later qualifies this; Ar. *Pol.* 1310b34–40 associates the two); Hatzopoulos 1994b, 21–4, 121–2 (religion and social customs); 1996, 1:496 (language and governmental forms); 2003, 54–6 (herding, political institutions, festivals and sanctuaries). Assistance in 429: Thuc. 2.80.7 (the Macedonians had an alliance with Athens); Lendon (2010, 498 n.11) is skeptical.

325 Proclus *Chrest.* 277 (Seve), in Bernabé 1987, 95 *ll.* 13–16: from Troy through Maroneia overland to Molossia, thus necessarily through Macedonia.

Admetus, who sent the fugitive Athenian Themistocles off on foot over Pindus to king Alexander I of Macedon.³²⁶

Thucydides's story of Themistocles and Admetus, with its powerful and successful supplication (μέγιστον ἦν ἱκέτευμα τοῦτο, 1.137.1) of the king by the hearth, was for that author a visit to an earlier, rougher, simpler world. Themistocles by crossing over the mountains into Molossia also thereby passed into the world of Homer, an older, honor-bound world whose king could not refuse even a disliked suppliant.³²⁷ Only with Admetus's grandson Tharyps was there the beginning of a change, a change marked also by the first known Athenian dedication at Dodona, an inscribed bronze strip probably celebrating Phormio's victories in 429.³²⁸ Tharyps was thought by later authors to have been the first Molossian king to have been substantially influenced by the more 'modern' Greeks to his south: "he was the first to become known," wrote Plutarch, "because he ordered the *poleis* according to Greek customs and rules and humane laws," a comment elaborated (over-specifically) by Justin-Trogus in the third century AD as "he was the first to draw up laws, a senate, annual magistrates, and the form of a *respublica*."³²⁹ Customs, rules, laws: Tharyps, himself honored by the Athenians with citizenship, was depicted as gradually introducing a new way of life to his mountain people, as his Macedonian contemporary Archelaus – builder of a new palace at Pella, patron of the Athenian playwright Euripides, founder of dramatic contests at the festival at Dion, the king who "created order" among the Macedonians – would as well.³³⁰ Even so, Tharyps is unlikely to have created new political institutions *ex nihilo*, despite Justin's fanciful embroidery. If Tharyps left his folk any institutions, he probably created an amphictyony, a board of officials, to oversee Dodona and perhaps rewarded the protectors of his youth by placing them on it as *damiorgoi* ("crafters of the people"), a title that is later seen in an inscription whose contents date from the sole reign of his grandson

326 Sent on to Macedonian king, at Themistocles's request, Thuc. 1.137.1; grandfather, Plut. *Pyrrh.* 1.3, Paus. 1.11.1.

327 Not least because that king's ancestor had once killed a suppliant – Priam at the altar in Troy (see Neils 1994, 516–20) – and had been punished by the god Apollo for it (Pind. *Paean* 6.113–14), Hammond 1967, 492; S. Funke (2000a, 118 n.72) finds this punishment likely to be only Pindar's view. Parallel to Odysseus at the Phaeacian court noted by Davies 2000, 242 n.24. Molossia is close to that part of the world north of the Aetolians whose people, according to Thucydides (3.94.5), spoke uncouthly and ate raw meat, and Thucydides may have considered the Molossians one of the peoples "who lived according to the ancient manner," carrying weapons as an everyday practice (1.5.3–6.1).

328 *Syll.* 3 73 (see above n.288): "the Athenians from the Peloponnesians having won a naval victory made this dedication."

329 Plutarch: *Pyrrh.* 1.3, Θαρρύπαν πρῶτον ἱστοροῦσιν Ἑλληνικοῖς ἔθεσι καὶ γράμμασι καὶ νόμοις φιланθρώποις διακοσμήσαντα τὰς πόλεις ὀνομαστὸν γενέσθαι; Justin-Trogus 17.3.11, *primus itaque leges, et senatum, annuosque magistratus et reipublicae formam composuit*. For *grammata* as "rules" see Hammond 1967, 507.

330 Citizenship: above n.4. Pella, Socrates in Ael. *VH* 14.17; Euripides, *Ar. Pol.* 1311b30–4, Paus. 1.2.2; festival, Diod. 17.16.4; "ordered" (διεκόσμησε), Thuc. 2.100.2, the same verb as used by Plutarch of Tharyps; briefly discussed Hatzopoulos 1996, 1:469–70. Archelaus's activities: see (e.g.) Voutiras 2004, 220–6.

Neoptolemus, son of Alcetas (C1; 370–368 BC). Subsequent authors like Plutarch and Justin enjoyed charting the progress of what they comfortably assumed were backward states; they treated the early Macedonians in much the same way.³³¹ But progress may have been slower than they thought, for fourth-century visitors like Demosthenes found Macedonia, like Molossia, vividly Homeric, as though they were visiting Agamemnon and his quarrelsome princes.³³² And like Macedonia, Molossia and its kings maintained their Homeric qualities and resonances for years to come.³³³

The Molossians in the fifth century inhabited much of the great plain around (later) Ioannina, and in time came to envelop and control the sanctuary of Dodona at the foot of Mt. Tomaros, which marked the plain's south-western edge.³³⁴ "The land of the Molossians and the oracle of Thesprotian Zeus," Aeschylus called it, and by the end of the fifth century Homer's "wintry Dodona" was the oracle of Molossian Zeus as well.³³⁵ Zeus was worshipped here, under the open sky, his earliest priests barefoot, listening to the great oak speak or at least rustle its leaves.³³⁶ No temple was wanted, nor was one built, only (after 400 BC) a small *naiskos* near one great sacred oak as a place to store votives, including a small number of inscribed metal plaques.³³⁷ Dodona's earliest inscription (C1) was found here too, near the west wall, and attests to the Molossian oversight of the sanctuary itself, for the Molossian king, the Molossian *prostatas*, and a board of *damiorgoi* all date two grants of *politeia*, an act that itself had a significant religious component. Like *damiorgoi* elsewhere and the Amphictyonic *hieromnemones* at Delphi,³³⁸ this board, perhaps carefully chosen with an eye toward geographic distribution within Molossia,³³⁹ oversaw aspects of the functioning of this sanctuary, thus exercising a highly important, visible, and prestigious responsibility. In this way the king's friends, if indeed he appointed them, shared in the prestige gained by Molossian association

331 Because the terms (like *damiorgoi* etc.) used in inscriptions have no Athenian resonance, Davies (2000, 253–4) concludes that Plutarch's and Justin-Trogus's tradition of "strong fifth-century Athenian influence" is "exposed" as "eccentric."

332 Lane Fox (1973) 63–7, esp. 60–1, discussion of Demosthenes's impressions and his joke about Alexander as "Margites."

333 For example, Molossians and Macedonians both had royal companions (a recognized group of aristocratic friends, often horsemen); and the Macedonian king Antigonos still had court bards (Antagoras the Rhodian and Aratus of Soli), Paus. 1.2.3 (like Alkinous and Demodokus). On Homeric and Macedonian monarchy, Carlier 2000 (who finds differences, but the differences are not huge); Hammond (1967, 537) called it "a heroic kind of monarchy."

334 Dodona itself on the edge of the plain, Hes. *Eoiai* 115.5 (Hirschberger), ἐπ' ἐσχατῇ (240 MW).

335 Aesch. *PV* 829–31; Hom. *Il.* 2.750, 16.234.

336 Parke 1967, 20–33.

337 Even so, Davies (2000, 257) deems the new *naiskos* "a deliberate (royal?) Molossian investment in prestige," and Mylonopoulos (2006, 202) speculates that a *naiskos* was "necessary" to announce the new political function of the sanctuary under the Molossians. Plaques: of these, to the (late) fourth century I would date only *SGDI* 1350 (=no. 1) and possibly *SGDI* 1354 (=no. 2).

338 See above n. 121 (*damiorgoi*) and n.233 (*hieromnemones*).

339 See above n.100, pp. 87–8, 91 for geography and self-identification rather than blood tie being the likely definer of *ethnos*-status, especially over time.

with this great but simple pan-Hellenic oracular shrine known from Homer, a shrine older even than the Aeacid monarchy.³⁴⁰ Or so it seemed in retrospect to Strabo: the Molossoi became powerful “partly because of the kinship of their kings, who belonged to the family of the Aeacidae, and partly because the oracle at Dodona was in their country, an oracle both ancient and renowned.”³⁴¹ Only after 300 BC would the Molossians and their kings turn Dodona into a showplace for their own virtues and achievements. In this they were perhaps following the lead of the Macedonians, who had in the fourth century developed Dion, with its great sanctuary and nine-day festival to Zeus and the nine Muses, into a “national sanctuary” celebrating the military achievements of the *ethnos* and its kings.³⁴²

Many visitors came to Molossia and its oracle as well. There were pilgrims to Dodona; Themistocles; the Chaonians and Ambraciots who brought Molossians with them to fight with the Spartans against the Acarnanians in 429; Athenians who (probably) made a dedication at Dodona after Phormio’s victories in 429; Athenian envoys seeking alliance between 415 and 413; Dionysius of Syracuse, pursuing a pipe-dream of settlement along the Adriatic coast and a crazy scheme to despoil Delphi; Spartan allies who helped the Molossians recover from a disastrous incursion of Illyrians in 385/4; the charismatic Athenian Timotheus, who befriended king Alcetas I, son of Tharyps, and invited king Alcetas and his son to join the Second Athenian Naval League, petitioning for the assistance of the first in transporting peltasts to Corcyra in 373; and the envoys of sacred games, who in the 360s made their way north-west for, apparently, the first time.³⁴³ But very few of these friendly tendrils twining into Molossia from west and south – no matter what allurements they may have represented or temptations they may have offered – inspired a policy of Molossian expansion or contributed to its achievement: there was no fourth-century Molossian drive to the sea akin to nineteenth-century Russia’s passionate desire to control the Golden Horn, and no fourth-century Molossian subjugation and control of central and western Thesprotia.³⁴⁴ For these tantalizing expressions of foreign interest and offers of risky opportunities could only rarely help with Molossia’s greatest foes, who were (in the fourth century and after) the Illyrians to the north.³⁴⁵ Here, common enemies inspired a defense undertaken in common with the Macedonians,³⁴⁶ and it was this common cause that eventually led

340 Hdt. 2.52, oldest oracle in Greece, in existence since Pelasgian times.

341 Strabo 7.7.5 (C324), . . . καὶ διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν τῶν βασιλέων . . . νυξήθησαν τῶν γὰρ Αἰακιδῶν ἦσαν, καὶ διὰ τὸ παρὰ τοῦτοις εἶναι τὸ ἐν Δωδώνῃ μαντεῖον, παλαιὸν τε καὶ ὀνομαστόν ὄν.

342 Hatzopoulos and Mari (2004) draw the parallel, quotations at 508–9; Diod. 17.16.4 noted in particular that the festival (and its feasting) “restored the vigor (προσανέλαβε) of the army.”

343 Themistocles (above), Thuc. 1.136–7; Chaonians and Ambraciots, Thuc. 2.80.1, 5–6; Athenian dedication, *Syll.*³ 73; Athenians 415–413, *Ps-And. Alc.* 41; Dionysius and Spartan allies, Diod. 15.13.1–3; Timotheus, Diod. 15.36.5; Second Athenian Naval League, above nn.9 and 154; transport of peltasts, Xen. *Hell.* 6.2.10; envoys, *IG IV*² 1.94–5 (in 448 Pericles had not invited any northwesterners beyond Ambracia to his panhellenic congress, *Plut. Per.* 17).

344 See above pp. 61–2.

345 Hammond 1967, 45: “the chief function of the Epirotes was to hold the frontier of the classical and Hellenistic world against the Illyrians . . .”

346 Alliance probably 358, Hammond 1994b, 30 and 198 n.5. “Hitherto there seem to have been

to two marriages across the Pindus mountains, a new king, an invigorated vision of heroic kingship, a great expedition across the seas to South Italy – and a stretch of Molossian-controlled coastline on the Gulf of Arta.

But it is true that the achievements of the Molossian kings of the first half of the fourth century did not glitter, any more than did the achievements of contemporary Macedonian kings. Alcetas I fled Molossia for Sicily, for reasons unknown, and then tried to force his way back into Molossia with the assistance of Dionysius of Syracuse and the hated Illyrians; despite this rough wooing, he was nonetheless received back thereafter, for reasons equally unknown.³⁴⁷ Was he replaced by another member of the royal family in his absence? Probably, since in returning he invaded “the kingdom” (τὴν βασιλείαν, Diod. 15.13.1), and since the Spartans who eventually rescued Molossia from the Illyrians would not have left a regional confederation intact.³⁴⁸ What we know is that whatever Alcetas’s deficiencies, the monarchy survived in Molossia, and the king continued to be recognized as the Molossians’ leader, with full right to make alliances and represent Molossia to other states: not the Molossians as a group, but Alcetas and his son Neoptolemus joined the Second Athenian Naval League – the only individuals, as well as the only monarchs, listed among the fifty-odd allies on the stone.³⁴⁹ The monarchy also survived the ill-omened behavior in the sanctuary of Dodona of the king’s pet monkey – which overturned the urns for lots when the Spartans were consulting the oracle – shortly before the battle of Leuktra, thus probably in the last years of Alcetas I’s reign.³⁵⁰ Neoptolemus I is otherwise known only for fathering three children, for having been the king in the dating formula for two grants of citizenship inscribed on the same stele (C1), and possibly for having ruled jointly not only with his father, but also, subsequently, with his brother.³⁵¹ This brother, king Arybbas (=Tharyps II), withstood severe Illyrian attacks in the first years of his reign, hosted Epidaurian envoys as *theorodokos* (as did king Perdiccas in Macedon), allied with Perdiccas’s successor Philip II against the Illyrians in 358, married one daughter of Neoptolemus I (his niece) himself and gave the other, Olympias, in marriage to Philip in 357, quarrelled with Philip and found himself at open war with him in 349, won chariot-races at Olympia and Delphi, lost his nephew to Philip II as a hostage, and finally found himself driven out by Philip and replaced by that same nephew, now

no relations either of enmity or friendship between the Epirots (*sic*) and the Macedonians, but from this time onwards the histories of the two peoples are closely linked together,” Cross 1932, 37.

347 Diod. 15.13.1–3.

348 See above n.152.

349 Rhodes and Osborne 2003, 92–105 no. 22 ll.109–10; they also summarize the arguments for removing Jason of Pherai, the only other individual, from the erasure at l.111.

350 The monkey also disrupted “all the other things prepared for the drawing of the lots;” the priestess quickly proclaimed that the Spartans should ask not about victory, but about saving themselves (Callisthenes *FGrH* 124 F 22a).

351 Jointly with father, because they apparently joined the Athenian League together; jointly with his brother, Paus. 1.11.3, followed by Rhodes and Osborne 2003, 352 (always a joint rule). The dating formula of C1, however, suggests single rule for at least part of the time.

known as Alexander I, on the Molossian throne in 343/2.³⁵² Arybbas retired to Athens, where his Athenian citizenship (inherited through the grant made to his grandfather) was confirmed.³⁵³ Alexander continued to admire his Macedonian brother-in-law (indeed, some said the two were *very* close) and in return received the gift of three cities, a stretch of coastline, and the hand of Philip's daughter Kleopatra (who was also Alexander's niece) in marriage.³⁵⁴

The only unusual element in this tale of four kings is the way Molossian fortunes after 360 BC turn on the relationships of the four with their Macedonian counterparts, and especially Philip II. When Arybbas is in alliance with Philip, he and Molossia are fortunate, but when he falls out with Philip he loses his kingdom as well; Alexander I is much more careful to keep in with Philip, and his success is, indeed, achieved in a very old-fashioned and kingly way, dependent as it was on a personal connection to, and favor from, another more powerful king. Absent king, weak king, volatile king, favored king, baneful monkey – when a Homeric monarchy was (thought to be) eight hundred years old, it could survive all these intact and as an institution command the respect of the people it ruled. Assisted or accompanied by a board of *damiorgoi*, these kings carried on the long tradition of Aeacid leadership of the Molossian *ethnos*, and the newer tradition of oversight over the sanctuary of Dodona.

Alexander I of Molossia passed his youth at the Macedonian court, learning from his uncle what it meant to be a dynamic (and persuasive) monarch, and absorbing many of the ideals of competitive behavior that would express themselves in the heroic leadership later displayed by his cousin Alexander the Great, some years his junior. What young man in his position – recently restored to his rightful, ancestral place as king in Molossia and given the gift of a stretch of useful coastline and three cities “to be his slaves” – would not have thought that the world was his to conquer?³⁵⁵ And set out so to do he did, tactfully heading west (in response to a request from the city of Tarentum) rather than east, since east (and south) were to be the province of his cousin.³⁵⁶ To mount this invasion, Alexander I of Molos-

352 Illyrian attacks, Frontinus 2.5.19 (the enemy was Bardylis, and Arybbas had his hands full) and Diod. 16.4.3–7 (defeated by Philip II in 359); *theorodokos*, *IG* IV² 1.95.II l.31, Perdikkas (for ‘Macedonia’) at *IG* IV² 1.94.I l.9; alliance and Olympias's marriage, Justin-Trogus 7.6.10–11 with Hammond 1994b, 30 and 198 n.5; open war in 349/8, Dem. *Ol.* 1.13; chariot races, from the decree confirming Athenian citizenship, Rhodes and Osborne 2003, 348–55 no. 70 l.48 (wreaths, and the decoration of the stele in general; probably 344 BC, Cabanes 1988a, 106); Alexander as hostage, deduced from Justin-Trogus 8.6.5 (Errington (1975, 49) thinks not “very long after the marriage” of Olympias, Beck (1997, 141) states 353); driven out by Philip II, [Dem.] 7 *Hal.* 32.

353 Citizenship, see above n.4; Diod. 16.71.1 thought he died the next year, and although Errington (1975) defends Diodorus, it is more likely that Diodorus has made a mistake here, see discussion of alternatives and scholarship (about, indeed, the chronology of Arybbas's entire career) in Rhodes and Osborne 2003, 353.

354 Alexander and Philip II, Justin-Trogus 8.6.5–6 (*puerum honestae pulchritudinis . . . omnique studio sollicitatum spe regni simulato amore ad stupri consuetudinem perpulit . . .*).

355 Philip most likely gave not only three cities but a stretch of coastline (see above n.141); quotation, [Dem.] 7 *Hal.* 32.

356 Tarentum, Strabo 6.3.4 (C280). Justin-Trogus 12.2.1–2 is the source of the over-the-top com-

sia constructed an alliance of independent neighbors whose participation would also help to secure Molossia's borders while the king was away, perhaps being the first to swear his faith to them in a ceremony at Passaron, they in turn swearing to protect the kingdom (τὴν βασιλείαν διαφυλάξειν).³⁵⁷ Setting himself at their head and inspiring them with dreams of booty and glory, he set off for south Italy in 334. Recruiting more men to his cause once there, he then minted more of the coins, some stamped with his name and the thunderbolt, the eagle, and the head of Zeus of Dodona, with which he paid them all.³⁵⁸

An alliance of neighbors was only one element of Alexander's planning, but for the history of Epirus the most important. From the moment almost one hundred years earlier, when Chaonians, Thesprotians, and Molossians had fought together against the Acarnanians and made their way into Thucydides's history, this kind of collaboration had been a possibility. Alexander's exploitation of that possibility showed something of what he had learned from Philip, and perhaps was also assisted by some sense of regional common identity on the part of the Molossians, an identity that had (by the fourth century) made the first, mythical king of Thesprotia a relation of the Aeacids, and had the Molossians minting both bronze coins with the legend "of the Molossians" and bronze coins with the legend "of the Apeirotes" even before the departure of Alexander I in 334.³⁵⁹ Both coinages, as well as Alexander's own, showed symbols of Dodona and its god Zeus: they may have been minted for sanctuary and festival needs, and are precursors of the ways in which Molossians and Molossian kings would come to exploit the great sanctuary for political purposes.³⁶⁰ To the east, Macedon was another potentially dangerous neigh-

parison: "as though (there had been) a partition of the world, the East being allotted to Alexander . . . and the West to himself, and holding that he would have no less scope to prove himself in Italy, Africa, and Sicily than Alexander would have in Asia and Persia" (. . . *velut in divisione orbis terrarum Alexandro . . . Oriens, sibi Occidens sorte contigisset, non minorem rerum materiam in Italia, Africa Siciliaque quam ille in Asia et in Persis habiturus*).

357 See above pp. 58–60.

358 Possibly minting in Epirus, see above n.213. Coin symbols, Vlasto 1926; Franke 1961, 90; Holloway 1969, 135 (five of six with name and patronym; thunderbolts, eagles, head of Zeus of Dodona). That his "monetary policy" in south Italy was the equivalent of Alexander of Macedon's on campaign is argued by Holloway 1969, 137–8.

359 Cestrinus, son of Andromachē and Helenus, and thus half-brother to the sons of Neoptolemus son of Achilles, settled Thesprotia with Epirotes, Paus. 1.11.2 and 2.23.6 (a late addition to the legends; S. Funke (2000a, 81) suggests perhaps late fifth century for its genesis, and Cross (1932, 100–1) thought Alcetas I invented it when trying "to draw the two tribes together"); Theopompus (*FGrH* 115 F355) shows that the story was in place by the mid-fourth century, when Olympias boasts of it. Davies (2000, 241–2) cautiously concludes that most of the myth was probably in place before the third century. Myths that viewed the area as a unity are recorded in the fifth century: Pind. *Nem.* 4.51–3, Neoptolemus ruled from Dodona down to the sea; Aesch. *Suppl.* 255–9, Pelasgia, which goes all the way to the sea; Hekataeus *FGrH* 1 F26, Ar. *Meteorica* 359a25, Ps.-Scylax 26 (Müller), Heracles visits Dodona, takes cattle of the Geryones from Ambracia, from Amphilochian Argos, or from Chaonia. Coins, see above nn. 173 and 210.

360 Virtually identical symbols: eagle, thunderbolt (Molossia Group III, Alexander); thunderbolt in laurel wreath (Molossia Group IV, Alexander, 'Apeirotōn' Group IV); circular shield with thunderbolt (Molossia Group IV, Alexander), all discussed Franke 1961, 90–91 and 259. New

bor, but Philip had been Alexander's friend, Philip's widow was his sister, and Philip's daughter was his wife, as well as guardian to their young son: the Macedonians would stand guard against the north as well. All was set. The only element lacking was success in Italy, despite Alexander's initial victories, his personal bravery (he, like Alexander the Great of Macedon, was an accomplished hand-to-hand fighter), and his hillman's talent for ambushes.³⁶¹ The Molossian king was assassinated in the winter of 331/0, fording a south Italian river in a south Italian locale – the Acherusian waters of Pandosia – whose names had been revealed to him as the place of his death by the oracle at Dodona, and which he had tried to avoid, thinking that the Thesprotian sites with these names were the only ones in the world.³⁶²

Aristotle characterized the Molossia that Alexander left behind in two ways: its king had been a benefactor to it, having “settled or gained a territory” (alluding, perhaps, to the gift of Philip), and he and other kings had acted in a “more measured” and “less despotic” way, were therefore “less envied,” and the kingship was secure. Perhaps “less despotic” (glossed as “in their habits more equal”) means “tact and caution,” or persuasion and leading-by-example rather than arrogance and violence;³⁶³ we do not know, but the language is moral rather than constitutional. It was the long-lived Molossian monarchy, which itself appeared as an archaic aspect of an old-fashioned state to the Greeks of the south, that caught Aristotle's attention as he cast a quick glance over the area of Epirus.³⁶⁴ Looking at this entire territory of the northwest beyond Ambracia, Aristotle may also have been struck by some habits or institutions (like the *prostatas*) all three peoples – Chaonians, Thesprotians, Molossians – had in common.³⁶⁵ Certainly Strabo would report on similarities in

styles of the *same* themes would be introduced in both the ‘Apeirōtōn’ issues and the coinage of Pyrrhus, Franke 1961, 256–7; S. Funke 2000a, 206–7. Pyrrhus will show that he also wishes to appeal to his Sicilian allies by minting, when there, coins with various Sicilian themes (Persephone, Athena, Berenikē); or to his Epirote troops by minting coins with Zeus Dodonaïos and Dionē in South Italy, and Zeus with thunderbolt or horse in Epirus; or to ‘his’ Macedonians by minting coins with the Macedonian shield in Macedonia, see Kienast 1963, cols. 110–12, and Borba Florenzano 2003, 26–31 (although she instead emphasizes Pyrrhus's desire to heroize himself through the themes on his coinage).

361 Success, Livy 8.24.1–6 (including, in his last battle, his *monomachia* in the rain with the commander of the Lucanians) and Justin-Trogus 12.2.5–12, with Holloway 1969, 132; ambushes, Frontinus 2.5.10.

362 Death and oracles, Livy 8.24.1–2; Justin-Trogus 12.2.3–4 and 14–15; Strabo 6.1.5 (C256). If the story about the oracle (given as he contemplated his western adventure) has any truth to it, Alexander I would have been the Molossian king least likely to have contemplated returning to campaign in Thesprotia voluntarily (Thesprotian Pandosia was one of the cities specifically given to him by Philip II, and thus perhaps hard to avoid if conquest of, rather than alliance with, the other Thesprotians was still contemplated).

363 “Tact and caution” is the paraphrase of Cross 1932, 16.

364 Seen as archaic: Cabanes 1988a, 104; in (1996c, 199) he notes that the presence of kings “attests to the archaism” of Molossia. Aristotle, *Pol.* 1310b38–40, 1313a18–24; see above pp.56–8, 63–4, 66–7.

365 Chaonian *prostatai*, Thuc. 2.80.5; Thesprotian *prostatas*, C49 (=no. 28, although, I have argued, this is a third- or even second-century inscription, see above p. 108; Cabanes (above n.305) places it in the fourth century). Strabo (7 fr.2 [LCL p. 322] also reports that among the Thesprotians, the Molossians, and the Macedonians old women were called *peliae* and old men

daily habits (which he thought were all Macedonian) three hundred years later: “in tonsure, language, short cloak, and other things of this kind, the usages of the inhabitants are similar.”³⁶⁶ These institutions and habits, not a shared political constitution, would have been at the heart of whatever *Politeia* “of the Apeirotes” Aristotle wrote, as they were in his *Politeia* of the Cretans.³⁶⁷ The alliance of Epirotes that Alexander had constructed would have been of little interest to him: *symmachieae* were categorized by Aristotle as entities that did not aim at the highest good of “coming together to live well.”³⁶⁸

After Alexander’s death, and for the next thirty-five years, the strong Macedonian connections of the Molossian royal house would prove both a useful protective shield and a source of endless troubles. The Macedonians under Antipater had some claim to authority in regions north of Molossia proper, and in this way assumed responsibility against northern incursions; Kleopatra, widow of Alexander I and daughter of Philip II of Macedon, was guardian for her son in Molossia, single *theorodokos* for the Argive envoys who came to Epirus, and sufficiently well connected to arrange for grain-shipments from Cyrene in time of need.³⁶⁹ Soon, however, she was joined by her mother Olympias (who had said ca. 330, in her characteristically assertive way, that “the land of Molossia, in which the sanctuary [of Dodona] was, was *hers*”), and the plotting began.³⁷⁰ At first Olympias only involved her daughter in schemes against Antipater, as was reported to Alexander the Great in 325; but after Alexander’s death in 323 scheming became war, and Olympias had the aged Molossian king Arybbas II recalled (no doubt as joint king with her nine- or ten- or eleven-year-old grandson) and sent into action, at the head of a band of Molossians, in the Lamian War of 322, in or after which he died.³⁷¹ His son Aeacides, who in turn also became king with the young Neoptolemus II, was much influenced by Olympias as well, and tried to come to her assistance in 317, after she had returned to Pydna in Macedonia; for this act of loyalty he and his friends paid dearly, Aeacides himself being driven into exile by a faction of Molossians, his friends killed.³⁷² His family was scattered, for his baby son Pyrrhus was taken by two retainers (after a legendary hair-raising chase and the fording of a flood-

pelioi; “and at any rate they call ‘those holding offices’ *peligones*” (πελιγόνας γούν καλοῦσιν· ἐκεῖνοι τοὺς ἐν τιμαῖς) – although “they” here may refer only to the Macedonians.

366 Strabo 7.7.8 (C326-7), similarities that ranged all across northern Greece: ὅτι καὶ κουρᾶ καὶ διαλέκτῳ καὶ χλαμύδι καὶ ἄλλοις τοιοῦτοις χρῶνται παραπλησίως, and “some would go so far as to call the whole of the country Macedonia as far as Corcyra.”

367 See above n.171.

368 *Symmachieae*, Ar. *Pol.* 1280a25-40, and see Davies 2000, 238 (Aristotle “belittle[d] *symmachieae*”).

369 Antipater in the north, Dexippus *FGrH* 100 F8.3, and perhaps as far west as the Acroceraunus in Chaonia, Arr. *FGrH* 156 F1.7. Guardian: Lyc. *Leoc.* 26, corn from Epirus παρὰ Κλεοπάτρας; *theorodokos*, SEG XXIII.189.1 l.11; grain, SEG IX.2 (corn from Cyrene sent once to Kleopatra, twice to Olympias, and again (as in the charter of the Second Athenian Naval League) they are the only individuals listed, while the others are all peoples; 330–326 BC).

370 Olympias, Livy 8.24.17, quotation, Hyp. 3 *Eux.* 36, ὡς χώρα εἴη ἡ Μολοσσία αὐτῆς.

371 Plotting reported to Alexander, Plut. *Alex.* 68.3; Arybbas’s recall, fight, death, above n.185.

372 Influenced, κατήκοος ὄν Ὀλυμπιάδι, Paus. 1.11.3; assistance, Diod. 19.11.2 and 36.2; paying dearly, Diod. 19.36.3–4 (discussed next paragraph), and Plut. *Pyrrh.* 2.1 adds that his friends were killed.

swollen river at dusk) to the Illyrian king Glaucias and, in a moment reminiscent of Themistocles doing supplication to Admetus while holding Admetus's child at the hearth, laid in front of the king on the floor. As Glaucias gazed on him in bemused contemplation, the toddler pulled himself to his feet (says Plutarch) by clutching the robe of the king and grasping his knees – "like a formal suppliant," said the king, in amusement and pity, who then chose the honorable if politically inexpedient course and took him in.³⁷³ Pyrrhus's Molossian protectors had been trying to take him to Macedonia, however – although not to Cassander, Aeacides's enemy.³⁷⁴ And from this point on, Molossia was no longer just a launching point for a northern-Greek Game of Intrigue (Femme Fatale Sub-Division), but subject to substantial, probably direct, and certainly heavy-handed Macedonian interference by Cassander and his *epimeletes* and *strategos*, Lyciscus.³⁷⁵

Aeacides, in attempting to assist Olympias in 317, had been deserted by most of his troops when he generously gave them a choice about fighting the Macedonians; he was subsequently driven out of Molossia by what Diodorus reported as a *koinon dogma*, a "common decree" or a "decision taken in common."³⁷⁶ At this point Diodorus also added a surprising observation: "this was something that had never happened in Epirus from the time when Neoptolemus son of Achilles was king of the land; for sons had always succeeded to their fathers' power and had died on the throne up to this time."³⁷⁷ We can admire the technical truth of this statement, since the two kings who had spent some time in exile, Alcetas I and Arybbas II, had, indeed, died as Molossian kings; sons who were of age had indeed succeeded their fathers; and not the Molossians but Philip II had driven out Arybbas II in 343/2, and not the Molossians but his own father had exiled the bad-tempered Alcetas II.³⁷⁸ (Diodorus's statement, if accurate, also suggests that whatever sent Alcetas I to Sicily was not an act of the Molossians themselves; which may go some way towards explaining why Alcetas could return as king with full powers even after the terrible mis-step of bringing in the Illyrians.) But Diodorus's astonishment is not at *the way* a king was driven out, but *that* a king was driven out – this had never happened before, so unreflectively accustomed had the Molossians been to their kings, even the relatively inept ones. Something major must have precipitated it: and this must have been the sense of too much Macedonian influence, too much stepping smartly to the tune of a Macedonian piper.³⁷⁹ The experience of the last thirteen years had

373 Plut. *Pyrrh.* 3.1–2; parallels to Themistocles noted by Davies 2000, 242 n.24.

374 Plut. *Pyrrh.* 2.2. Enemy: Plut. *Pyrrh.* 3.3 (Cassander offers two hundred talents for the toddler Pyrrhus).

375 Diod. 19.36.5.

376 Diod. 19.36.4, action attributed by him to the "Epirotes," but by Plut. *Pyrrh.* 2.1 to the "Molossians," see above pp. 70–1 and n.189.

377 19.36.4: ἀεὶ γὰρ παῖς παρὰ πατρός διαδεχόμενος τὴν δυναστείαν ἐναπέθνησκε ταῖς βασιλείαις.

378 Death of Arybbas II, Diod. 18.11.1; driven out by Philip, [Dem.] 7 *Hal.* 32; Alcetas II, Diod. 19.88.1 and (bad temper) Paus. 1.11.5.

379 S. Funke (2000a, 204) attributes monarchs' troubles in these years to the spirited resistance of the Molossian *Bundesstaat* to kingly attempts to undermine the sovereignty of 'Apeiros.' But other *koina* also began as agreements for mutual and self-defense, e.g., the Aetolians (Franke 1955, 34), which is in a sense what the Molossians especially needed between 330 and 297 BC – not against internal enemies but against external foes.

been an experience of weakness, and indeed of a kingdom wagered in a game of personal ambition by Molossian-Macedonian princesses. This was, then, the moment when the Molossians for the first time resisted the leadership provided by their royal family, and conceived of themselves as separate from their kings. They were not anti-war, exhausted by fighting; they were not anti-Aeacid or, indeed, anti-monarchical; some of them were against *this* military adventure, and because king Aeacides was beholden to Olympias for his kingship, as his father had been before him, some of them were against *this* king, who might be tempted to support her again.³⁸⁰ This choice was not a great moment of constitutional development and institutional muscle-flexing, but a moment of decision taken by a people with a new-found sense of their own interests coming into existence after fifteen years of hardship. Diodorus called it *stasis*, “revolution.”³⁸¹

For the next twenty-five years, this emerging sense of common interest continued to be exercised in this same sphere: was this king the right one for us?³⁸² Neoptolemus II for many of the years of his youth would continue to be, apparently, a non-entity, overshadowed by older kings who were more active, or from whom more was expected.³⁸³ So in 312, after five years of Lyciscus’s harsh oversight, and after Aeacides had seized the kingdom back by force but had died defending his hegemony against the Macedonians, the Molossians recalled Alcetas II, that son of Arybbas II whom his own father had exiled for his vile temper.³⁸⁴ Alcetas II won one and lost two against the Macedonians, and then made peace with Cassander; but he was subsequently put to death by the Molossians (along with his two sons) for “treating the common people harshly.”³⁸⁵ Aeacides’s actions showed that he attributed no legitimacy to whatever decision sent him into exile; the Molossians’ execution of Alcetas II and his two sons showed that their objections were serious; but both together suggest that established institutions or procedures whereby conflicts between king and people could be discussed, mediated, or in other ways resolved were weak or could be ignored. Far from being a kind of ‘constitutional’ monarchy, Molossia in the last decades of the fourth century had in place no acknowledged restrictions on a king’s behavior. The Molossians in these chaotic decades relied on military desertion, agreements of the desperate, faction-driven coups, and murder to settle matters of the highest importance.

380 Paus. 1.11.4 indeed says that “the Epirotes” hated Olympias.

381 Diod. 19.36.3 (the majority who do not wish to fight the Macedonians *στάσιν ἐποίει*), in producing a *koinon dogma* they are rebelling, *κατεστάσισαν* (Diod. 19.36.4), emphasized by the fact that they then usurp the king’s role and make a *symmachia* with Cassander, the enemy of the Molossians and the personal enemy of Aeacides and his father before him. Plutarch agreed: *στασιάζαντες*, *Pyrrh.* 2.1.

382 S. Funke (2000a, 204) interprets many of the problems the kings encounter (esp. in 307 and 297) as arising from a spirited Molossian “defense of the structures, institutions, and competences of the federal sphere” – for which there is no direct evidence.

383 Because of his general invisibility, some have thought that Neoptolemus was actually deposed and brought back, or that it was a different Neoptolemus the second time, see above n.176.

384 Aeacides seizing the kingdom, Diod. 19.74.3; death in battle (Diod. 19.74.6) or “not long afterwards” (Paus. 1.11.4). Alcetas II, above n.196.

385 Diod. 19.88.1–89.1 (Alcetas against the Macedonians), 89.3 and Paus. 1.11.5 (put to death with sons).

Throughout this time of trouble, the Molossians had at least been fortunate in that the Macedonians protected their northern border, and indeed Cassander had defeated Glaucias, king of the Taulantii, compelling him to maintain peaceful relations with Macedonian allies (including the Molossians), while also capturing both Apollonia and Epidamnus.³⁸⁶ Other allies from the time of Alexander I also seem to have stood firm – to have “protected the kingdom” in its weakness – although there is no way of knowing whether they participated in the internecine struggles of the Molossian-Macedonian royal house.³⁸⁷ Certainly the internal situation was sufficiently fraught that “the allies of the Apirotes” at one point under king Neoptolemus II actually stepped in to give a grant of *ateleia* and *enteleia* “in Apiros” (*SGDI* 1336). For Molossia’s stability was fragile and subject to swings of fortune, as was demonstrated in 307, when Glaucias (who had fostered Aeacides’s baby son Pyrrhus starting in 317) entered Molossia from the north with an army and put the now twelve-year-old boy on the throne, a move countered by Cassander or his partisans, who drove out Pyrrhus’s friends and plundered Pyrrhus’s possessions while he was out of the country at a wedding in 302.³⁸⁸ Pyrrhus’s supporters went too, banished by the (doubtless fearful) Molossians, and Neoptolemus II, now in his early thirties and developing an unpleasant personality, was sole king yet again.³⁸⁹

In thirty or so years, in short, Molossia had gone from being a kingdom whose monarch led her to invade others, in dreams of heroic world conquest, to a kingdom whose fate was all too regularly determined by others – by Molossian-Macedonian princesses, Macedonian strongmen, Macedonian subordinates, their own disgruntled exiles, even meddling Illyrians. These are years of trouble that inspire, as never before, a sense of Molossian identity not concentrated in the figure of their own king – a sense of community. In the first decade of the third century, a flattering Zacynthian could attribute to his family and to the Molossians themselves the heroic descent of the Aeacid line; but already, ten years before, the figure known as the *prostatas* had started to identify himself as, specifically, the *prostatas* of the Molossians,³⁹⁰ and the group akin to the earlier *damiorgoi* are now called (in C3,

386 Diod. 19.67.6 (Apollonia; loses the city at 89.1–2), 67.7 (treaty with Glaucias: Glaucias not allowed to wage war on Macedonian allies), 67.7 (Epidamnus).

387 Standing firm: “the Molossians and their allies” are still a recognized entity early in the (sole) reign of king Pyrrhus in the third century, see *IG IX*: 1.4.1750 with above n.202. Whether the allies participated in the internecine struggles depends on whether one follows the wording of Diodorus (and that of even later authors like Pausanias), see above pp. 70–1.

388 Plut. *Pyrrh.* 3.3; Paus. 1.11.5 claims “the Epirotes” recalled Pyrrhus (S. Funke (2000a, 199) finds this likely). Banishment of supporters: Plut. *Pyrrh.* 4.1.

389 Neoptolemus: by 297 he is hated because he ruled *χαλεπῶς* and βιαίως, Plut. *Pyrrh.* 5.1.

390 Zacynthian, above n.202. *Prostatai* in (only) manumissions, listed above n.87. Many third-century inscriptions are incomplete, but of those that are not, five use *prostatas* alone (C3, *SGDI* 1354=no. 2, C68=no. 3, C77, *SGDI* 1340); fourteen use “*prostatas* of the Molossians” (*SGDI* 1336, *SGDI* 1356=no. 4, C2, C74=no. 8, C6, *SGDI* 1334, *SGDI* 1335, *SGDI* 1337, *SGDI* 1346=no. 9, *SGDI* 1353=no. 14, *SGDI* 1343, *SGDI* 1344, *SGDI* 1348=no. 15 [in one possible restoration], *SGDI* 1347 [restored]), and two do not list a *prostatas* at all (C70=no. 7; *SGDI* 1359+1362=no. 10). Those that use *prostatas* alone fall in the earlier part of the century, suggesting that the use of the phrase “*prostatas* of the Molossians” is a gradual tendency, but well-entrenched by mid-century.

dated to Neoptolemus II, son of Alexander I) the *hieromnameuontes*, “those acting as remembrancers of the sacred.” The earlier *damiorgoi* had likely been constituted to oversee religious affairs, especially in the great sanctuary of Dodona; the *hieromnameuontes* would have done the same, with their title emphasizing the greater role that recording in the sanctuary was coming to play, and with it the ever-greater centrality of the sanctuary in Molossian and Epirote self-definition. The sense of community that grew out of the troubles of the late fourth century first expressed itself through, or was first located in, the realm of the sacred.³⁹¹

Pyrrhus, who returned to Molossia in 297 (helped by Ptolemy of Egypt), murdered his unsatisfactory co-king Neoptolemus in 295, a solution to the problem that seems to have suited everyone except, presumably, Neoptolemus.³⁹² Pyrrhus otherwise also encouraged this nascent sense of Molossian community by directing it to a common purpose – conquest and glory akin to “the capture of Ilium” (so Pausanias) – that he himself enunciated, arranging special Molossian units in the army, and leading it as “king” or “the Molossian.”³⁹³ So, too, had Philip II and (especially) Alexander the Great led the Macedonians in the fourth century, providing Pyrrhus with a pragmatic yet heroic model whose success made imitation a self-evidently winning strategy. Pyrrhus also undertook major building-projects at Dodona, adorning the sanctuary with victory-dedications, and continued to exchange oaths at Passaron, an ancient Molossian center with a temple to Zeus the Warrior-God, with the Epirote allies.³⁹⁴ He or his successor Alexander II may have been responsible for the recasting, reconceiving, or renaming of the “remembrancers of the sacred” as *synarchontes*, “fellow-rulers” – not a literal truth, but a flattering statement of partnership, in an inscription to be dated early in Alexander’s reign (C2).³⁹⁵ In these ways the Molossian *ethnos* led by a king in the fifth and fourth centuries became the Molossian *ethnos-koinon* led by a king in the third: the difference is not one of institutions (and certainly not of developing federal power), but of sense and self-perception that gradually informed existing institutions.³⁹⁶ Molos-

391 Hatzopoulos and Mari (2004, 512) speculate that these *hieromnameuontes*, “members of the Molossian senate,” were named thus because the great festivals took place at Dodona, and these were the occasions in the year when, and the place where, the transhumant pastoralists gathered together and made their decisions.

392 Plut. *Pyrrh.* 5.7 (“most of the Epirotes were eager to see him rid himself of Neoptolemus”).

393 Ilium, Paus. 1.12.1. Specifically Molossian units: we know of his “Molossian cavalry” (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 30.5) and τοὺς Μολοισσοὺς ὀπισθοφυλακοῦντας (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 30.2); he also had Thes-salian cavalry (*Pyrrh.* 17.3), Χαόνων λογάδας (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 28.2), and hypaspists (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 24.3), so perhaps his construction of ‘national units,’ so very much like the Macedonian army, was a way not only of emphasizing local identity but also of cementing unit strength while deploying all, competitively, for the good of the whole; cf. Lendon 2005, 115–39. “King” and “Molossian,” above n.199.

394 Building, above nn.72–3, and including the Ionic colonnade around the *naiskos* on which metal plaques could be posted; victory-dedications, above n.39 (including inscribed shields, like the Macedonians at Dion, Pantermaleas 2000; Alexander II also dedicated an inscribed shield at Dodona, *BE* 1976.345, for date see above pp. 31–5); ceremony of swearing, Plut. *Pyrrh.* 5.2.

395 See above pp. 82–6.

396 *Ethnos* and *koinon* are therefore not sharply distinguished – nor should they be, Beck 2003, 181, 184. As Carlier (2000, 267–8) argued for Macedonia, especially under strong kings with

sian identity begins as local and tied to their kings: they are the Molossoi whom their kings lead.³⁹⁷ It broadens to become local and regional both – simultaneously Molossian and Epirote after 340 – with its center (and probably inspiration) still the Molossian king, but with a second focus developing around Molossian Dodona as well.³⁹⁸ It finally, sometime after 300, is local and regional but also a community with a sense of itself as separate from the king, with a communal voice that can speak to the king in an acknowledged (if unequal) partnership. With king Pyrrhus the Molossians were again important in the world, and he made them feel important at home as well.

Because success is also a great breeder of goodwill and bringer of friends, Pyrrhus's initial successful forays into Macedonia, exploiting family rivalries among young Macedonian princes to great effect, recruited for him even more allies (mostly from Epirus and the northwest) than his predecessors had achieved: not just the traditional allies, the Chaonians and the Thesprotians, but also Macedonians, Ambraciots, Athamanes, Acarnanians, and Aetolians fought with him in Italy and Sicily, and many of them dedicated spoils with him at Dodona as "the Epirotes."³⁹⁹ None was incorporated into 'Molossia,' or included among the officially recognized *synarchontes* at Dodona around the king, or among "the Molossians" or in the "Molossian *koinon*," since that community was one created among the Molossians themselves in the crucible of a specifically Molossian history; but Epirotes too, with Pyrrhus, were coming to have a sense of themselves.⁴⁰⁰ Instead Pyrrhus made treaties or agreements with allies,⁴⁰¹ and the leaders of such allies could perhaps hope

military achievements to their credit, the "kingship is not only a case of non-democratic politics, but also of non-democratic evolution."

397 And if mythical genealogy is one important way to create *ethnos*-identity – see (e.g.) Gehrke 1994 and 2001, and Beck 2003, 179, 181–2 – then it is noteworthy that the genealogical 'work' in Molossia all involves the Aeacid house and stories about, or symbols of, Dodona, see Franke 1961, 92–7, 122–3, 150–6; Dakaris 1964; and S. Funke 2000a, 19–101.

398 A story attributed to Cineas, Pyrrhus's advisor (Strabo 7 fr. 1-1b [LCL pp. 320–2]), also has the oracle originating in Thessaly and then moving to Dodona (as the stock of Achilles, progenitor of the Aeacid kings, had moved, and as the Molossians themselves once were thought to have moved); the mythological genealogies of kings, people, and oracle are all made to align in the early third century.

399 Macedonia, Plut. *Pyrrh.* 6.2–7.5, 10.1–12.6; contingents (at Asculum in 280 BC), DH 20.1.1–6 (where he also identifies the Athamanes, Acarnanians, and Aetolians as "mercenaries" although Pyrrhus had received Ambracia and Acarnania as part of his settlement with Alexander of Macedon in 294); dedication (with the Tarentines), on a shield, *SGDI* 1368 (see above nn. 39 and 205).

400 So the phrase "Epirote and allied power" against Lysimachus (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 12.7) does not signify that the Epirotes were not allies, but that they saw themselves as a special group among the allies.

401 *IG IX 1*: 2.207=Rhodes and Lewis 1997, 160 no. 207 is a report of an unpublished (now lost) fragment of a treaty between the Acarnanians and Pyrrhus from 281 BC, for which see also Klaffenbach 1955, 47–8; *symmachia* with Tyndarion, tyrant of Tauromenium, which gives Pyrrhus more soldiers, Diod. 22.8.3; other Sicilians "hand themselves over" (*παραδῶσιν*), "work with him" (*συνεργήσιν*), and supply ships, cities, and soldiers, Diod. 22.8.5; others wish "to hand themselves over and become allies" (*παραδῶσιν καὶ συμμάχους γενέσθαι*), Diod. 22.10.1; as S. Funke (2000a, 209–10) summarizes, it is *communis opinio* that all addi-

to be one of Pyrrhus's "companions," for like the Macedonian kings, and like Aeacides and Neoptolemus II before him, Pyrrhus had *ἑταῖροι* – φίλοι – with whom he fought and whom he kept close.⁴⁰² Service in the king's bodyguard (*agema*) of horsemen, which he also kept close, was another possibility.⁴⁰³ But, above all, the magnetic draw of his charisma and sheer fighting ability helped to hold all of these Epirotes (and other allies, like Tarentines and Acarnanians) together. For most of his reign, fighting alongside Pyrrhus – the quintessential man of war, and a consummate one-on-one fighter – was, by all descriptions, an exhilarating experience.⁴⁰⁴ Here was a man worth following, a true warrior king, a man with a magic great toe on his right foot, a man who vied with Heracles, the man most like the brilliant Alexander of Macedon in appearance, swiftness, and movement, a man counselled by Alexander in his dreams.⁴⁰⁵

And a man, finally, who was honored by legend and respected by his enemies even in death. Pyrrhus was ignominiously struck down in 272 by a rooftile as battle raged through the city-streets of Argos – a terrifying day, Pliny reports solemnly, when severed heads crawled about licking up their own blood.⁴⁰⁶ Antigonos, king of Macedon, placed the ashes of Pyrrhus in a golden urn and sent them home to Epirus, and allowed Pyrrhus's army to return home unhindered.⁴⁰⁷ Pyrrhus's son Alexander II became king, and maintained most of Pyrrhus's alliances and achievements, although he had to fight the Illyrians, and chose to fight both the Macedonians and the Acarnanians.⁴⁰⁸ That last war was particularly disgraceful, since it was

tions to Molossian power in the northwest under Pyrrhus were tied to him "persönlich," that is, through alliance with the king rather than with the Molossians or by incorporation into a Molossian federal state.

402 *Hetairoi*, usually called *philoi*: Plut. *Pyrrh.* 2.1 (Aeacides's), 5.3 (of Neoptolemus and Pyrrhus: part of state ceremonial), 15.4 (*philoi* and bodyguards travelled with him), 16.5, 8–10 (*philoi* on campaign, including Leonnatus the Macedonian), 17.4 (*philoi* and generals), 20.4 (Pyrrhus invites Fabricius to be foremost among his *hetairoi* and generals), 21.11 (*philoi* and generals); *philoi* join in the fighting (Diod. 22.10.3) and sit in councils (22.10.6), Cassius Dio 9.30.3. For Macedonian and Epirote comparison, Hatzopoulos 1996, 1:327–8.

403 DH 20.1.4 (2000 at Asculum).

404 A great general and interested only in war, Plut. *Pyrrh.* 8.2; individual combats, 7.5 (against Pantauchus, the best general of Demetrius) and 24.3 (cuts a barbarian challenger in half), fighting in the van against the Mamertines, 24.2; first up the wall at Eryx (22.5), terrible to look upon and transported by valor, 22.6; invincible and terrible in arms, 30.5; kills an entire band of picked Spartans single-handedly, 30.6. The Epirotes are "exalted" by his performance and "admire his valor," 7.5; the defeated Macedonians admire him, 8.1, 11.4–5 (they think him invincible and brilliant); Epirotes call him "the eagle," 10.1; barbarians think him a superior being, 24.4; men believed that "in military experience, personal prowess, and daring he was by far the first of the kings of his time," 26.1; Pausanias, reading *Commentaries* ("books called *ὑπομνήματα*") about Pyrrhus, was "struck with wonder" at Pyrrhus's daring, 1.12.2.

405 Magic toe, Plut. *Pyrrh.* 3.5. Vying with Heracles, Diod. 22.10.3. Most like Alexander in *ὄψιν*, *τάχος*, and *κίνημα*, and he seemed to display Alexander's impetuosity and might in conflict: he was most like him in arms and action, Plut. *Pyrrh.* 8.1. Dreams, Plut. *Pyrrh.* 11.2. According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus he also had a fondness for quoting Homer, 20.6.1 and 20.9.2.

406 Paus. 1.13.8; Pliny *HN* 11.197.

407 Plut. *Pyrrh.* 34.6; Val. Max. 5.1 ext. 4; Justin-Trogus 25.5.2 (Helenus and army back to Epirus).

408 Justin-Trogus prol. to bk. 25 (Mytilus of Illyria); 26.2.9–12 (Macedon); 28.1.1, with Pol.

the fruit of a secret agreement with the Aetolians “to enslave and dismember” Acarnania.⁴⁰⁹ Alexander II was not the man his father had been, clearly, but he had been brought up to be “brave in arms and fiery,” fought at least one war to avenge his father’s death, and did well enough in holding together a Molossian-allied ‘Epirus’ that had the Molossian *koinon* with its Molossian king at its heart.⁴¹⁰ To Molossia’s king were appended the various independent allied states. Those closest, like the Chaonians and the Thesprotians, were increasingly bound not just by at least eighty years’ tradition but also by the profitable economic ties of transhumance that criss-crossed the three areas. Other polities, like the ancient *polis* of Ambracia, had ties to the Molossian king the nature of which was less clear.⁴¹¹ Pyrrhus had taken Ambracia and made it his capital, from which it derived substantial embellishment, clear financial benefit, and probably even greater prestige,⁴¹² but it is not clear whether its position was ever regularized (e.g., by treaty). One would-be assassin of Pyrrhus was Ambraciot, at least one Ambraciot was said to have been an outspoken critic of the king, and Ambracia’s subsequent dissatisfaction with the Molossian royal house suggests that being kept merely as the kings’ gilded bauble, if that is what Ambracia was, was a matter of deep dissatisfaction and even hatred to the Ambraciots.⁴¹³

During Alexander II’s reign – the longest of any Molossian king we know except for Tharyps I – the Molossians themselves were epigraphically, and thus we can say politically, active. To his reign date most of the grants of privilege that survived the ruin of Dodona, with the granting agents now named: the Molossoi, the *koinon* of the Molossians, even (its only attestation) the assembly (*ekklesia*) of the Molossians.⁴¹⁴ The privileges – especially *isopoliteia* – are those granted by many

2.45.1 and 9.34.7 (Acarnania; in a speech), all with Cabanes 1976a, 81–3, 85–93.

409 Pol. 9.34.7, ἐπ’ ἐξανδραποδισμῷ καὶ μερισμῷ τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας.

410 Upbringing, Plut. *Pyrrh.* 9.2; vengeance, Justin-Trogus 26.2.9 (*ulcisci mortem patris Pyrrhi cupiens*, against Antigonos).

411 Hatzopoulos (2006, 70) attributed the unrest in Ambracia that led to the death of the last Aeacid to “the fundamental opposition . . . between two systems of organization” (*ethnos*-kingdom and *polis*), implying that either there was no integration of Ambracia beyond its prestigious position, or that further attempts at political integration failed.

412 Strabo 7.7.6 (C325), Pyrrhus ἐκόσμησεν the city; Pol. 22.30.9 (Pyrrhus had made it βασιλείον); Livy 38.9.13 (full of bronze, marble statues, paintings, *quia regia ibi Pyrrhi fuerat*). See Hammond 1967, 584–5 on (what he interpreted as) Pyrrhus’s new suburb at Ambracia (the Pyrrheum), its new theater, and its likely growth in population during Pyrrhus’s reign: “this period was the acme of Ambracia’s prosperity.” And he adds (587), “the great wealth of Ambracia, which provided such loot for the Romans, was largely amassed in the time when it was his capital city.”

413 Assassin: Aul. Gell. *NA* 3.8.1 (the Romans nobly refused); critics: Plut. *Pyrrh.* 8.5, an Ambraciot “denounced and reviled him” (Pyrrhus laughs it off); as Cross (1932, 61) noted, Ambracia was “ . . . an old Greek city proud of its past and at heart resentful at the loss of its liberties,” and displayed a dangerously independent spirit.

414 See the list above nn.253 and 258. Manumissions and other inscriptions spread themselves out over the century: fourteen date to the reign of Pyrrhus, approximately (*SGDI* 1354=no. 2, *SGDI* 1366, *IG* IX² 1.4.1750, C68=no. 3, C77, *SGDI* 1356=no. 4, *SGDI* 1360=no. 5, *SGDI* 1367, *SGDI* 1355=no. 4, *SGDI* 1368, C70=no. 7, *SGDI* 1340, *BE* 1969.347, *SEG* XXIV.452); nine date to the reign of Alexander II (*SGDI* 1341, *BE* 1976.345, C2, C74=no. 8, C6, *SGDI* 1334, *SGDI* 1335, *SGDI* 1337, *SGDI* 1346=no. 9), and eleven date thereafter, but before 232 (*SGDI*

other third-century *poleis*, states, and peoples, and reflect, like the statues made by foreign sculptors and the bronze coins from elsewhere found in Molossia,⁴¹⁵ the increasing openness of a once-isolated realm to entities and peoples outside its ring of mountains. Although one door to this outside world was opened in the fourth century, by Philip II of Macedon's gift of three cities and a stretch of coastline, it was Pyrrhus who had wedged the doors open for good. He did this by building alliances of Epirotes and pulling peoples from northwest Greece out of their homelands to experience the wider world; by making Dodona not only one of his centers of power but also an impressive shrine with a festival that others would want to visit; and by encouraging the longer-distance pastoral migrations, for Pyrrhus was also the king who took an active interest in cattle-breeding and had the best breed of Epirote cattle named after him.⁴¹⁶ Alexander II was not as impressive a king as Pyrrhus, but processes begun under Pyrrhus or a little before continued to develop under him: Molossia and the Molossian king's central place in a web of alliances of independent states; the sense of Molossian community; and the various connections of Molossia to the wider world. Before Alexander II's death, the king of Macedon had married one of his female relatives and after his death the king of Syracuse married another, a sure sign that the relative power and greatness of Molossia were surviving a king who was not quite as great as his father.⁴¹⁷

Yet events of the decade after Alexander II's death (ca. 240–232 BC) made power and greatness more relative. Ruled by two young princes and their guardian mother,⁴¹⁸ Molossia after 240 was endangered, for allies to the north were pressed by Illyrian freebooters, and the Aetolians to the south-east also took advantage of Molossian weakness. Both of Alexander's sons, Pyrrhus and Ptolemaeus, died in this gloomy decade, but the horrifying exclamation point to the tale of calamity was the murder of the great Pyrrhus's grand-daughter, Deidameia, at the altar of Artemis Hegemonē in Ambracia, driven there by a mob that did not forbear to scatter the great Pyrrhus's ashes from his Ambraciot tomb.⁴¹⁹ All that remained of the royal house was one daughter in far-away Syracuse, who could only erect a group of statues of the last members of the family in Olympia and Delphi, an elegiac lament to

1359+1362=no. 10, C72=no. 11, C73=no. 12, *SGDI* 1363=no. 13, *SGDI* 1345, *SGDI* 1353=no. 14, Carapanos (1878a) XXXIII.9, *SGDI* 1343, *SGDI* 1344, possibly *SGDI* 1348=no. 15, and *SGDI* 1361=no. 16).

415 *Isopoliteia*, see esp. above p. 29 and n.53. Statues: those on the inscribed bases C14 and C15 were both made by Athenogenes of Argos; that of an unknown person, *SEG* XXXVIII.457 (see above n.29) by Melissos of Corcyra (all late third century BC, in the time of the Epirote *koinon*). Coinage: above n.288.

416 Pliny *HN* 8.176, Epirotic cattle had received *laus maxima* "ever since the care given to them by king Pyrrhus" (*a Pyrrhi . . . iam inde regis cura*), one aspect of which was not letting them breed until they were four years old.

417 What the two female relatives' relationships to Alexander II were is much discussed, see Cabanes 1976a, 40–65, who argues that Phthia (married to Demetrius of Macedon before Alexander's death) was his daughter, and Nereis (married to Gelon of Syracuse after Alexander's death) was his grand-daughter.

418 Justin-Trogus 28.1.1–3; Cabanes (1976a, 64 and 98) thought Deidameia most likely the great Pyrrhus's great-grand-daughter.

419 Justin-Trogus 28.3.1–9; Polyæn. *Strat.* 8.52, with Hammond 1967, 591–2.

lost greatness.⁴²⁰ The kings of Molossia were no more.

The ‘Epirote *koinon*’ that subsequently emerged in the northwest built on the achievements of the preceding two hundred years, in particular on the now deeply rooted connections and sense of identity between the three independent ancient tribal peoples of this area, but was in itself fundamentally new.⁴²¹ Now for the first time a genuine federation – a federal ‘state’ with decision-making power called “the *koinon* of the Apeirotes” and made possible by the accepted concept of an Epirote *ethnos*⁴²² – replaced the old arrangement of the Molossian king (and behind him a Molossian ‘community’) holding together an alliance of independent peoples, states, and *poleis*. The Epirote *koinon* was led by a *strategos* (a new and supreme magistracy), had an *ekklesia*, had *synarchontes*, and the newly formed *synedrion* had its own *grammateus* or secretary.⁴²³ The composition of the *synedrion* is unknown, but each of the three groups participating in the *koinon* – Molossians, Thesprotians, Chaonians – continued to have *prostatai* and *koina*, either a sense of common identity or local bodies that may have been deliberative, of their own.⁴²⁴ That this Epirote *koinon* managed its business in ways quite different from the ways the kings had led their people and allies in the preceding two hundred years is suggested by the fact that its meetings now took place in different cities of the area, and by the new procedures reflected in the headings of the grants of privileges surviving from the period 232–167, which make clear who the proposer was, that the proposal was discussed, that the privileges ran in ‘Epirus’ and indeed that a common ‘Epirote’ citizenship could be bestowed, and that those rewarded (three of

420 Syll.³ 453 (restored with *basilissa/basileus* titlature for all four and their royal fathers).

421 In this way (and also in the way that – it could be hypothesized – a religious center for people living in scattered settlements came to be governed by “a type of amphictyony” whose members grow politically closer together over time) there might also have been a parallel for one stage of the growth of a *Bundesstaat* as postulated by Corsten 1999, 245; see also P. Funke 2009, 99–100 on (possibly) similar but not parallel political evolutions for the various areas of Epirus that made a *Bundesstaat* possible.

422 *Koinon* of the Apeirotes, C15 and (C17) Epirotes; *ethnos* of the Apeirotes, C16, *I.Magn.* 32 l.42, and Pol. 20.3.1; “the Apeirotes,” *I.Magn.* 32 l.20, C16, *SGDI* 1338, and Pol. 2.5–6, 4.9–4. As Beck (2003, 181) noted, in general “the *ethnos* was the fiction which made the creation of a political organism possible.”

423 Or maybe three *strategoi*, see Livy 29.12.11 and above n.311; one *strategos* is regularly (but not necessarily) used in dating formulae of the Epirote *koinon*, see C13 (restored), *SGDI* 1338, *SGDI* 1339, C34 (grants of privileges); *SGDI* 1347 (=no. 17), *SGDI* 1349 (=no. 22), C75 (=no. 24), C76 (=no. 25), *SGDI* 1350 (=no. 27), C47 (=no. 30). *Ekklesia*, *SGDI* 1338. *Synarchontes*, *I.Magn.* 32 ll. 37–8. *Grammateus* (of the *synedrion*), *SGDI* 1339, *I.Magn.* 32 ll. 37–8. *Synedria* (glossed as “genuine republican *synedria* with proportional representation”) in both Molossia and Macedonia are only established once the monarchy is abolished, Hatzopoulos 1994a, 167; 1996, 1:493–4; 2001, 385–6; and 2003, 60.

424 *Prostatai*, see C49 (=no. 28), C47 (=no. 30; restored), C48 (=no. 31); *koina*, *SGDI* 1370, C35, and above n.298. If the *synarchontes* were members of the *synedrion* (and note that the *grammateus* made a graceful transition from being associated with ‘the college of magistrates’ in all its manifestations, including the *synarchontes* in C2, to being associated with the *synedrion*), then one could hypothesize an organic transition from one body to the other, and some possibility of ‘area-based’ tribal representation in the *synedrion*. There is, however, no direct evidence that *synarchontes* in the Epirote *koinon* sat in the *synedrion*, or indeed on what basis *synarchontes* or members of the *synedrion* were chosen.

the five with *proxenia*, and a different three of the five with, or additionally with, *politeia*) were men from distant polities whose contributions were to ‘Epirus’ and were, probably, mostly of a political nature in these complicated times.⁴²⁵ That this Epirote *koinon* also had a substantially different impact from any of the political arrangements in the days of the kings is suggested by the distribution of its coinage, which for the first time appears in some quantity outside Molossia proper.⁴²⁶ The *koinon* also switched alliances and played opponents off against each other,⁴²⁷ while displaying a remarkable ability to talk rather than fight its way through a number of tight situations⁴²⁸ – although the shards of the contemporary honorific statues recovered from Dodona are of men in Macedonian-style military garb, and recovering and punishing Ambracia were always reasons to fight rather than talk.⁴²⁹ In

- 425 Different places, Gitana in 172, Livy 42.38.1; Bouneima, *SGDI* 1339; and no doubt also, more regularly, Dodona and perhaps (Cabanus 1976a, 375) Phoenikē (Livy 29.12.8, 205 BC; Pol. 16.27.4, 200 BC). Headings, see above n.312; privileges were *epigamia* (recipient unknown, the very fragmentary *SGDI* 1342), *proxenia*, *politeia*, *asphaleia*, *ateleia*, *enteleia*, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τίμια as to other *proxenoi* (C16, to a Boeotian), *proxenia*, *politeia*, *asphaleia*, *ateleia*, *enteleia*, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα, καθὼς [κ]αὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἀπειρώταις (*I.Magn.* 32 ll.43–7, to three Magnesian *theoroi*); *politeia* (*SGDI* 1338, to an Achaean), *proxenia*, *ateleia*, *enteleia*, *asphaleia*, *gās kai oikias e[n]ktasis* ἐν Ἀπείροι, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τίμια as to other *proxenoi* (*SGDI* 1339) – the last, who does not receive *politeia*, is a Roman or Italian from Brundisium. Note, no *isopoliteia*, so important for the knitting together of other federal leagues (Buraselis 2003, 45–7); but this may be chance.
- 426 Franke 1961, 134–217 (circulates in all areas of the *koinon* and Illyria and Acarnania); Psoma and Tsangari 2003, 119–20 and 126 table 10.
- 427 In 230, they are at war with the Aetolians, then ally with the Aetolians against their enemy the Illyrians (Pol. 2.6.1), then ally with the Illyrians against the Aetolians (Pol. 2.6.9); they ally with the Macedonians in 228, vote in the Macedonians’ Hellenic Council for war against the Aetolians in 220 (Pol. 4.25.3 and 5), but assure the Aetolian League they will keep the peace (Pol. 4.30.6–7); in the Second Macedonian War they are allied with Macedon, but Charops the Elder renders the Romans invaluable aid (Livy 32.6.1 and 32.11.1–6, Pol. 27.15.1), and many Epirote volunteers join Flamininus (Livy 32.14.8), while after the war Charops the Younger is sent to Rome (Pol. 27.15.4); while allied to Rome they also sent envoys “with the unanimous approval of the people” (*communi gentis consensu*) to Antiochus (Pol. 20.3.1–4, 6), hoping to curry *gratia*, favor (Livy 36.5.3–8).
- 428 A nimbleness that includes surviving an unpleasant interview with the Romans explaining why they had sent envoys to king Antiochus, Livy 36.35.8–12. They are much more visible as diplomatic go-betweens: before 205, “weary of protracted war,” Livy 29.12.8; before Second Macedonian War, Pol. 16.27.4; 198, broker peace talks, Livy 32.10.1–2; 192, part of talks at Tegea, perhaps acting as intermediaries between Rome and the Achaean League, Livy 35.27.11. As Cross (1932, 98) rather optimistically put it, given Epirus’s geographical location between Rome and Macedon, “it was the natural and proper policy of those who controlled the affairs of the country to strive for peace.” Moments of actual fighting, or evidence of Epirote troops being deployed, are few: 232–230, against Aetolians and Illyrians, Justin-Trogus 28.1, Pol. 2.5.5; 222, against Cleomenes of Sparta (1000 infantry and 50 cavalry, Pol. 2.65.4); 219–217, against Aetolians, Pol. 4.61.2–62.3, 4.62.1–7, Diod. 26.4.7; 190/189 against Ambracia with the Romans, Livy 38.4.7 and 9; 172, 400 soldiers sent to hold Orestis against Macedon, Livy 42.38.1; 170–169, against Perseus, Livy 43.21.4, 43.23.6. And it is remarkable that the Epirote League does not respond to the ravaging of “all of Epirus” in 217, Pol. 5.96.1.
- 429 Statues, Katsikoudis 2005, 79–122 and 182–3, with Ma 2008. Ambracia: in 219, the “exceedingly eager” Epirotes divert Philip to Ambracus (the port) and Ambracia, Pol. 4.61.4–62.1 (Ambracus handed over to the Epirotes at 62.3); in 189 they advise and then assist the Romans

truly difficult moments, the Epirotes would merely allow allies and others to march across Epirus.⁴³⁰ These strategies were all new ways of weathering new calamities, included the loss of northern allies, yet another alliance with energetic but erratic Macedonian kings (this time Antigonos Doson and Philip V, himself – alas! – no Philip II), a feud with the Aetolians, a thorough-going sack of Dodona by those same Aetolians, and a cautious but dangerous relationship with Rome, all of which yanked the rope on which the Epirotes were balancing in the high-wire act of these years.⁴³¹ Location, offices, practices, methods, effects: so much change is associated with the Epirote *koinon* that the *koinon* itself must have been a major change. New, no doubt federated and possibly representative, given to discussion, cannily but variously led, this *koinon* was, as Polybius in a generalizing moment called states with *synedria*, a *dēmokratia*.⁴³² Which was not what Molossia and its neighbors during the many centuries of Molossia's kings had ever been. It is thus only in this very last phase that the Epirote *koinon* resembles the *Bundesstaat*, a federal state of the sort so much better known in its Achaean or Aetolian version.

The new *koinon* was welded together from three *ethnē* – Molossian, Thesprotian, Chaonian – and the three, despite the joins and wires that made them a unit, were still characterized by their own alloys and melting points. The coast and the mountain do not always agree, even when their beasts move from one to the other along long-established paths twice a year. Differences, deriving from geography as much as anything, made the three react to the blowtorch of Roman intervention in different ways, and eventually, in 170 BC, the three partners split apart under the high heat of the Romans' war with Macedon. Helpfulness to the Romans after a meeting at Gitana in 172 became, on the part of some Molossians, watchful waiting, which soon then became a disinclination, by the late summer of 171, to help Rome.⁴³³ The Chaonians and the northern Thesprotians supported the Romans, while the southern Thesprotians and the Molossians, persuaded by their leaders Cephalus, Antinous, Theodotus, and Philostratus – who had connections to the Macedonian royal house – preferred the Macedonians.⁴³⁴

in their siege of Ambracia, Pol. 21.26.1–6 and Livy 38.3.10–11.

430 In 214, they allow Philip to march north, Plut. *Arat.* 51; in 198, they allow Philip to move through their territory, Livy 32.5.9 – and then allow Flamininus to do the same, Livy 32.14.5–6; in 189, they allow Romans to march through Epirus to Ambracia, Pol. 21.26.19 and Livy 38.3.11; in 171, 2000 Romans pass through Epirus to Thessaly, Livy 42.47.11–12.

431 Loss of northern allies, e.g., Pol. 2.11.5, App. *Illyr.* 2. Alliance with Antigonos Doson in 228, Hammond 1967, 601. Aetolians and sack, Pol. 4.67.1–4, Diod. 26.4.7. Alliance or friendship with Rome, Pol. 27.15.12.

432 Pol. 31.2.12, ὄντας δημοκρατικῆς καὶ συνεδριακῆς πολιτείας (said of the Macedonians after 167).

433 The response to the Roman speech at an Epirote meeting at Gitana in 172 was favorable, and the Epirotes sent 400 men to defend Orestis, Livy 42.38.1; but Oost (1954, 74) argues that the Molossians were poorly represented in this league meeting, and the positive response represented the opinions of the coastal league members, not the inland Molossians.

434 Connections, Pol. 27.15.8–9, 27.15.12 (ἔχων μὲν καὶ πρότερον ἤδη σύστασιν πρὸς τὴν Μακεδόνων οἰκίαν); leaders, Pol. 30.7.1–4 and 27.15.10–11, Livy 43.18.2: Cephalus was a *prostatas* of the Molossians, *SGDI* 1352 (=no. 26), Antinous the *strategos* of the Epirote *koinon* in *SGDI* 1338–1339 (and a witness in C75=no. 24), and these leaders brought over the *ethnos* of the Molossians to Perseus, Pol. 30.7.2.

Even after an impertinent attempt, in the spring of 170, by a pair of Molossians to kidnap the consul Mancinus from Phanota, in the western approaches to Molossia, the Romans did little in Epirus, since they were pursuing the war against Perseus of Macedon by attacking from Thessaly, although not very effectually.⁴³⁵ A second Roman commander, Appius Claudius, was brought in to pressure Macedonia from the north, through Illyria; but in 170 and 169 Perseus was remarkably successful at holding off the Romans and making sorties of his own, in Illyria and one all the way down to Stratus, in Acarnania.⁴³⁶ Only the arrival of the grim and grizzled Aemilius Paullus, in 168, finally broke the apparent stalemate. Aemilius Paullus defeated Perseus at Pydna on a hot June day of that year, after which another Roman commander, Anicius, entered Molossia from the west through Phanota. Knowing what the defeat at Pydna had meant, the entire population of Phanota greeted him wearing the wreaths of suppliants, but this time, perhaps for the first time, an act of supplication in Molossia would have no effect.⁴³⁷

Only four cities in Molossia attempted to resist the Romans, but in vain, and by late fall Anicius could put his troops into winter quarters with no qualms, since Molossia was defeated and pacified, and awaiting her fate.⁴³⁸ The pro-Roman Chaonian Charops identified traitors to Rome with a sedulous efficiency.⁴³⁹ On the Roman side, all was oddly quiet. In this restful state of suspension, small flames of hope began to flicker, especially once the relatively lenient fate of Macedonia had been announced. When Aemilius Paullus arrived, in the spring of 167, smoky rumors swirled that he would impose severe but ultimately bearable conditions of the sort he had devised for Macedon, which had been granted a harsh freedom entailing the division of that land into four smaller parts.⁴⁴⁰ When he sequestered pro-Macedonian Molossian leaders – those who were left – to contemplate their upcoming trip to Rome, announced that Roman garrisons would be withdrawn, and ordered ten men from each city to collect all the city's gold and silver and put it out for collection on the same day by the Romans,⁴⁴¹ the trembling was as much from relief as fear. When Roman soldiers arrived in every town on the same (announced) day to collect the gold and silver, this just appeared to be the fabled Roman efficiency at work.

435 Kidnapping, Pol. 27.16.1–6, Diod. 30.5a.

436 Livy 43.18.1–20.4, 43.21.5–23.1 (Epirotes went with him, 43.22.9); he was also successful in Thrace, Livy *Epit.* 43. Sometime in late 170 or early 169 Cephalus suddenly made the Molossians' loyalties clear, *repentina defectione ab Romanis* (Livy 43.18.2).

437 Phanota was the first Molossian town to surrender, *prima . . . dedita est omni multitudine cum infulis obviam effusa*, Livy 45.26.3; story from then until winter quarters, Livy 45.26.4–15 (winter quarters 45.26.15; Anicius winters in Passaron).

438 Livy 45.26.3–11, Pol. 30.7.2–4. Oost (1954, 81) thinks all the pacification efforts were over by late September.

439 Pol. 30.12 (on Charops's brutality, although not in this matter specifically), Livy 45.31.9 (men were summoned from Epirus and other places, to follow the general to Rome and stand trial) and 45.34.9 (the moment they were actually ordered to follow); Scullard 1945, 63 (Charops capable of anything); Hammond 1967, 634.

440 Some of the border areas of Epirus and Macedonia, between Orestis and Lynceus, were also made part of one of the four Macedonian regions, Hammond 1967, 633–4.

441 Livy 45.31.9, 45.34.2–4.

Thus an absolute surprise was inflicted on the Molossians that morning. For not only did the Roman soldiers punctually collect up the gold and silver on the appointed day at the appointed hour; in seventy cities across Molossia and southern Thesprotia, at the fourth hour after sunrise, Roman soldiers looted, sacked, and burned.⁴⁴² Fortification walls were razed to the ground; all further wealth was extracted from the defenseless towns; and what could not be taken was wrecked. Eventually, every Roman cavalryman would officially receive 400 *denarii* from the plunder, each infantryman 200, and private initiative probably gained each at least another eleven *drachmae*.⁴⁴³ Aemilius Paullus and the Roman senate were not, then, disposed to overlook the small matter of Molossia's betrayal of her Roman alliance. Macedon, the ferocious and slippery but open antagonist of three wars, survived the conflagration, albeit in pieces. But Molossia Aemilius Paullus set on fire after Pydna, punishing the land and the people for their last great gesture of solidarity with their neighbors across the eastern mountains. For not only was their Epirote *koinon* split and melted, their delicate hopes charred, and their cities blackened and smoking ruins: the Molossian *ethnos* was itself well-nigh extinguished, since Paullus took 150,000 of them as slaves on that one day. Over one hundred and fifty years later, and despite small gestures of regeneration, Strabo could still describe the Molossian high country of Epirus as desolate and abandoned, the few who lived there dwelling in "villages and ruins."⁴⁴⁴ And while the oak of Dodona rustled its leaves, there were none to interpret: although the festival still brought visitors and Pyrrhus's great toe, kept in Dodona as a relic, healed inflammations of the spleen, the oracle spoke no more.⁴⁴⁵

442 Pol. 30.15 (=Strabo 7.7.3 [C322]); Livy 45.34.1–9; Plut. *Aem. Paull.* 29.1–3.

443 Livy 45.34.5; Plutarch gives the much lower figure of eleven *drachmae* (*Aem. Paull.* 29.3), but may be reckoning without including the cost of slaves, or attempting to show "so small a gain from so large a destruction" (Oost 1954, 131 n.43); Hammond (1967, 635 n.1) thought Plutarch's numbers were the estimates of the troops themselves of the movables seized, and have been included as such here.

444 Strabo 7.7.9 (C327): τὰ . . . οἰκούμενα κωμηδὸν καὶ ἐν ἐρειπίοις λείπεται.

445 Toe: Pliny *HN* 7.20 (it would not burn when he was cremated, *conditurque loculo in templo*). Loss of oracular powers: Strabo 7.7.9 (C327): ἐκλέλοιπε δὲ πῶς καὶ τὸ μαντεῖον τὸ ἐν Δωδώνῃ, καθάπερ τᾶλλα; Lhôte (2006, xv) rightly observed that the oracular lamellae end in 167 BC. "The Molossians" were still active in the sanctuary after 167, crowning "the people of Larisa and their judges" in Dodona in 130/129 (*SEG* LVII.510=Tziafalias and Helly 2007, 424–5 *II.57*–8 and 78–82) and arranging for a copy of the honorific decree to be set up there. A handful of inscriptions subsequently attest to the refurbishment of the sanctuary and its administration in the imperial centuries: C27, C28 (Augustan), and C30 (AD 241–2).

V. EPIGRAPHICAL APPENDIX

Inscriptions are numbered in what I judge to be approximate chronological order, but readers should note that often ‘grouping’ rather than listing would be the more appropriate way of ‘dating’ these inscriptions: over-arching groups (determined by contents as well as letter-forms) would be nos. 1–2; 3–7; 8–10; 11–17; and 18–27.

DODONA

1. *SGDI* 1351. Dodona. (Carapanos 1878a, 50 no. 2 and 201–11 [Egger] and pl. XXVII.2; Rangabé 1878, 116–17; Fick 1879, 276–8; Roberts 1881, 118–20; *IJG* 48; Schwyzer 1923, 210 no. 405; Franke 1961, 302 and n.21; Cabanes 1976a, 580–1 no. 55; Cabanes 1981a, 27, 36–7 no. 5.) Virtually complete bronze tablet, close to black in color, missing top lefthand corner and a chunk from the middle of the bottom edge; a little more partly down the right edge is now also missing. No holes for posting in the preserved corners or sides (w 0.23). Fourth century BC (Egger); second half fourth (Franke); ca. 334–328 BC (Cabanes 1976a, 177–9, 454). 350–250 BC. In National Museum, Carapanos collection no. 468.



- [Ἀπέ]λυσαν [Γ]ρύπωνα τοῖδε ξενι-
 [κ]ᾶ[ι λ]ύσει· Θ[ε]όδοτος, Ἀλεξίμαχος,
 Σα[μ]ύθα, Γάλαιθος, Ξένυς, Μάρτυ-
 ρες· Μολλο[σ]ῶν (!) Ἀνδρόκκας Δωδω-
 5 ναῖος, Φύλιπος (!) [Δω]δωναῖος, Φιλόξενος Δω-
 δωναῖος, Δράϊπος Δωδωναῖος, Ἀγίλαιος Δω-
 δωναῖος, Κραῖνυς Φοινατός, Ἀμύνανδρος Δω-
 δωναῖος· Θρεσπωτῶν (!) οἶδε· Δόκιμος Λαρισαῖος,
 Πείανδρος Ἐλεαῖος, Μένανδρος Τιαῖος, Ἀλέξα-
 10 νδρος Τιαῖος, Δείνων Θοξουχάρου, Φύλιπος,
 Φύλων Ὀνόπερνος, Ἐπὶ προστάτα Φιλοξ-
 ἐνου Ὀνοπέρν[ου]. Ἐπὶ Διδός] Νάου Διώνας.

vacat.

“The following loosed [G]rypon by *xenik|ē lusi*s: Theodotos, Aleximachos, Sa[m]lytha, Galaitchos, Xenys. Witnesses: of the Mollos[s]ians (*sic*), Androkas Dodonaïos, Philipos (*sic*) [Do]donaïos, Philoxenos Dodonaïos, Draipos Dodonaïos, Agilaios Dodonaïos, Krainys Phoinatos, Amynandros Dodonaïos; these of the Threspotians (*sic*), Dokimos Larisaïos, Peiandros Eleaïos, Menandros Tiaïos, Alexandros Tiaïos, Deinon (son) of Thoxouchares, Philippos, Philon Onopernos. When Philoxenos Onopernos was *prostatas*. [In the presence of Zeus] Naos (and) Dionē.” *vacat*.

1 [Τ]ρύπωνα Carapanos, [Γ]ρύπωνα Fick; 2 [κ]ᾱ[ι κρ]ίσει Carapanos, [κ]ᾱ[ι λ]ύσει Fick; Σα[. .]υ Θαγάλαιοθς Carapanos, Σα[μ]ύθα, Γάλαιθος Egger; Πειάναρος Carapanos, Πειάνδρος Fick; 6 Δράιπος Cabanes, Δράιπος *LGP*N IIIA; 10 Θοξουχάρου Carapanos, Οοξουχάρου=Οξουχάρου Fick.

A is straight-barred; O is full-sized; Π has short second hasta; Σ is open; Ω is virtually full-sized. line 3: the space after the first two letters is big enough for two small letters or one larger one, like μ. line 10: Fick corrected Thoxouchorou to Oxoucharou, but this is (in part) probably wrong, since there is a clear circular letter before the omicron. line 12: most editors punctuate the last line as “. . . was *prostatas*. Of Zeus Naos and Dionē,” but there is room for three letters before the restored [Διὸς] Νάου Διώνας, so perhaps ἐπί, “in the presence of,” a concept expressed in the later C71 (no. 23) and C76 (no. 26) with the preposition παρά.

2. *SGDI* 1354. Dodona. (Carapanos 1878a, 63 no. 19 and pl. XXXII.1; Rangabé 1878, 118; Fick 1879, 279–80; *IIG* 38(*bis*); Cabanes 1976a, 582 no. 58 [*SEG* XXVI.710].) Shiny black fragment of a copper tablet, broken on all sides (w 0.13). Early third century BC (Cabanes 1976a, 454, 456). 350–250 BC. In National Museum, Carapanos collection no. 466.

- [. M]ενέλαο[υ]
[.]ον ἀπέλυ[σε ξεν-]
[ικᾱ]ι λύσει τριῶ[ν μνᾱ-]
[ν ἐπὶ] προστάτα Πολιτ-
5 [. . .] Φειδολάου. Μάρ-
τυρες: Ἄρμενος Ἀλέξ-
ανδρος Ἄνδρ[ομένη]ς
Φειδύλα Εὐ[άνωρ] Χοι-
λωποί, Λύσ[ιπ]πος
10 Κέλαιθος. *vacat*.



“[. , (son) of M]enelao[s], loosed [.]os by [*xenik|ē lusi*s for three *minai* when Polit[. . .] (son) of Pheidolaos was *prostatas*. Witnesses: Armenos, Alexandros, And[romene]s, Pheidyla, Eu[anor?], (all) [K]oilopoï; Lys[ipp]os Kelaitchos.” *vacat*.

1 [. M]ενέλαο[υ] Carapanos, [. M]ενέλαο[ς] Fick; 3 [ἐπὶ]ι λύσειτριῶ[ι] Carapanos, [ἐπὶ]ι λύσει τριῶ[ν μνῶν] Rangabé, [ν μνᾱν] Fick; 4–5 πολιτ[είας] Carapanos, Πολιτ[άρχου] Fick, Πολιτ[άρχου] or Πολιτ[είδα] *SGDI*; 7 Ἄνδρ[.]ς Carapanos, Ἄνδρ[ομένη]ς Fick; 8 Φειδουλαεύς [. . .]λοι Carapanos, Φειδύλα Εὐ[.] Κοιλωποί Fick; 9 λωποῖλος [. . .]ος Carapanos, λωποι (!) Λύος Fick.

These small letters have been inscribed *pointillé* with the larger of the two sizes of tool typically used, which gives an impression of crowding, haste, and illegibility. In general, letter forms as in no. 1; the Ω in line 9 has ends that flip up more than the drawing indicates. Lines 6 and 7, virtually complete, establish a line length of sixteen-seventeen letters, as Cabanes (1976a, 562) noted. This

permits better restoration of the other lines (which he did not go on to do): in *SGDI*, the legible name in line 1 was restored as a nominative but should be a genitive; lines 2–3 were restored as [ἐπ]ὶ λύσει, but this left an uncomfortable gap before the phrase with nothing to fill it, since the name of the actor, with patronym, is in the first line, and the name of the man ‘loosed,’ a long name ending in -ος, spans lines 1–2. I suggest “by [xēnik]ē lūsīs” instead. lines 4–5: the name of the *prostatas*, restored in *SGDI* as Politarchos, is too long for the space (as Cabanes noted), and something shorter, like Fick’s proposed Πολιτ[εῖδα], must be found; there are no suitable attested options in *LGPN* IIIA (either too long or too short). It seems possible to me also that “Pheidolaos” is an ethnic, not a patronym, since patronyms are (otherwise) not used in giving the name of the *prostatas* at Dodona before the period 240–167 BC (first preserved, *SGDI* 1348 [=no. 15, 237–234 BC, in one possible restoration] and *SGDI* 1338, first half second century BC), and none of the witnesses has a patronym. line 8: the name Εὐ[άνωρ] is the only six- or seven-letter name both beginning with Εὐ and from Dodona in *LGPN* IIIA. line 9: despite the drawing, I see no omicron before sigma in Λύος[–], only one dot which may be stray. Note also that Λύος does not appear in compound names in *LGPN* IIIA, and that one name must span the gap, since “Kelaithos” in the next line is singular and there is insufficient room across the gap (of only three or four letters) for an ethnic and another name. So I have re-edited as Lys[ipp]os instead. Lysippos is not yet a name attested epigraphically in Molossia; it is found in Epidamnus (*I.Dyrrh.* 442). Lysimachos is a much more common name throughout the region (Buthrotum, Apollonia, Byllis, and so on), but the traces of letters below the break are two verticals, and if the second is the lefthand hasta of a M, there is not sufficient room (in my judgment) for both an A and a X in the gap.

3. C68=Cabanes 1976a, 585 no. 68. Dodona. (Carapanos 1878a, 63 no. 20 and pl. XXXII.2 only; Larfeld 1886, col. 928 and 1887, 528; *SEG* XXVI.714.) Three fragments of a bronze tablet; top right corner (with hole for posting), bottom right corner (no hole), left, right, and part of bottom edges preserved (h 0.14). Fourth century BC (Cabanes). 300–250 BC. In National Museum, Carapanos collection no. 461.

[Ἀγαθὰ] τύχα.
[Σωσιπ]άτρα Σω-
[σίπατ]ρον ἀπο-
λύ[ει δ]ύα κτά-
5 ματα, [Εὐτ]έρπον-
τα κα[ὶ] [Πο]ιμένα
λύσει [ξε]νικᾶ. Ἐ-
[π]ὶ Θράσ[ω]νος Κε-
[λ]αίθο[υ π]ροστά-
10 τα. Μ[άρτυ]ρες: Γυί-
ας, Ο[. . . .], Ἀγέλ-
[αος or -λυσ.]



“[Good] Fortune. [Sosip]atra loo[sēs] So[sipat]ros (and) [t]wo (items of) property, [Eut]erpon and [Po]jimen, by lūsīs [xē]nikē. When Thras[o]n Ke[l]aithos was [p]rostatas. W[itnes]ses: Gyias, O[. . .], Agel[aos or -lys].”

1 [Θεός] τύχα Larfeld, Cabanes; 3 [σιπάτ]ρο{υ} Larfeld, Cabanes; 4 λύ[ει τὰ δύ]α κτά Larfeld, Cabanes; 5 [Τ]έρπον Cabanes; 6 τα καὶ ἔπ[οι]μένα Larfeld, τα καὶ ἔπ[οι]μένα Cabanes.

Cabanes's restoration of this text, an improvement on Larfeld's (Carapanos had published only drawings of the fragments – positioning the left fragments one line too high up, which is also how they have been joined under plexiglass in the National Museum, and did not attempt to transcribe them), has (to my mind) some lingering problems. (I have rearranged the pieces correctly in the drawing.) The line length varies between nine (my restoration of line 1) and thirteen letters (line 10, clearly the extreme number that can be gotten into one line, since the iota at the end of the line is right along the edge of the plaque); lines 2–6 seem to alternate between ten and eleven letters per line, after which twelve-thirteen letters are crammed into the lines. O is smaller in this inscription than it was in nos. 1–2, but the other letter-shapes are similar. line 1: the opening formula should be restored as [Ἀγαθὰ] τύχα because the spacing is more appropriate for this than for θεός τύχα; Larfeld may have been allotting more room than was necessary for a posting hole in the top lefthand corner. Ἀγαθὰ τύχα (possibly but not necessarily for Ἀγαθαὶ τύχαι) is found in the northwest, e.g. Lhôte 2006 no. 114, 115, 123 and *SEG* XXXIII.476, lamellae from Dodona (ΑΙΑΘΤΥΧΑ). lines 1–2: restored by Larfeld and Cabanes as “Sosipatra, daughter of Sosipater,” which required dismissing the very clear N in line two as an inscriber's error, Σω[σιπάτ]ρο{υ}. If it is not, however, then we have here the name of the man “loosed.” line 4: this has previously been restored as [τὰ δ]ύα κτά, which gave a line of twelve letters – too many, given that there is a clear space at the end of this line, showing that this was not a line into which more letters were being pressed; τὰ should be omitted, giving a line of ten letters. Δύα, although unusual, is found in Thessalian Larisa (Salviat and Vatin 1971, 9.1 l.8, late third century BC). It is perhaps possible to imagine that the two *ktamata* are also being “loosed” along with the man in lines 1–2; we would then have a difficult but possible word-order, “Sosipatra Sosi[patr]os looses, (and) two items of property, Euterpon and Poimen, by *xenikē lusi*” – that is, his two slaves, along with the man himself. The other option is to treat a very clear letter in line two as an error. line 5: Cabanes restored the name as Terpon, but this is a letter, possibly two letters, too short for the restoration. Euterpon (an unattested name) can fit, although with a little cramming. Possible? lines 7–9: same name and ethnic of *prostatas*, and therefore same year, as *SGDI* 1365 (and lettering similar in both), Larfeld 1887, 528 and Cabanes 1976a, 585. The format of this and *SGDI* 1365=C77 is similar: the actor in the nominative and the verb in the present; ἐπὶ προστάτα dating formula. line 12: the end of the name Agelaos or Agellys will have to have been written in very small letters in the missing bottom lefthand corner of the plaque; because of the cramped space at the bottom of the plaque (which is a preserved bottom edge), it is difficult to imagine that this name was followed by any other, and, therefore, that there were more than three witnesses.

4. *SGDI* 1356. Dodona. (Carapanos 1878a, 55–6 no. 8 and pl. XXIX.3; Fick 1879, 282; Roberts 1881, 120; *Syll.*¹ 443; *Syll.*² 839; *Syll.*³ 1206; Michel 1900, 1423; *IIG* 49 [the digamma is archaizing]; Schwyzler 1923, 210–11 no. 406; Cabanes 1976a, 583 no. 60; Antoniou 1991, 123–4; Lhôte 2004, 124 [*SEG* LIV.579].) Two fragments of copper tablet, broken on all sides (w 0.20). After 168 BC (Cabanes 1976a, 458; 1988b, 56). 297–250 BC. In National Museum, Carapanos collection no. 462.

- Θεός. τύ]χα. Ματυδῖκα
 Προ[θουμ]ενὸν ἐξεπρίατο
 [παρὰ] Δαμοξένου μνάς
 [ἀ]ργυρίου. Μάρτυρες:
 5 Ἀλεξάνωρ, Γαττίδας,
 [Σκ]οπαῖος, Εὐκ[λ]εῖδας.
 [Ε]πὶ ναῖάρχου Μενεάρ-
 [μου], ἐπὶ προστάτα (!) Μολ-
 [οσσ]οῦ Ἀγέ[λ]λως.
 10 [.] vac. Φοι[ν]ατοί.



“Go[d. For]tune. Matudika bought Po[thoum]enos completely [from D]amoxenas for a *mina* of silver. Witnesses: Alexanor, Wattidas, [Sk]lopaaios, Euk[l]eidias. When Menechar[mos] was *naïarch*, when Age[l]lys was Molossian *prostatas* (*sic*). Pho[in]atoi.”

2 Πο[λύξ]ενον Carapanos; 3 [ἀπὸ Δ]αμοξένας Carapanos, Roberts, [πάρ’ Δ]αμοξένας Fick; 6 [Σκ]λοπαίος Fick; 9 [λοσσ]οῦ Ἀγέλλιος Carapanos, Antoniou, [οσσ]οῦ Ἀγέα. Λύος Fick, *SGDI*, [οσσών –]ονα Γέλλιος *Syll.*¹, Ἀγέ[λ]λιος Lhôte; 10 *init.* [. . . .]ς Fick; Φοι[ν]ατοί Carapanos.

The top and right edges are original; the left edge has lost letters, but probably only one for some of its length, since we do have the original top left corner. A is straight-barred; O is small; the second hasta of Π is short; Σ is open; other letters, including Ω, are large and on the line. Cabanes dated after 168 BC, presumably because there was mention of neither *strategos* nor king (but this happens in other third-century inscriptions as well, see, e.g. **nos. 5, 7, 10, 14**). The plaque must, however, be dated after the institution of the Naia festival, probably under Pyrrhus. line 2: Cabanes’s restoration Πο[λύξ]ενον is actually one letter short in a line that is otherwise tightly spaced; Πο[θούμ]ενον is found in Laconia, *IG* V.1.1059 and (much later) in Thessalonikē, *IG* X.2.1.394. lines 8–9: one expects Μολ[οσσ]ῶν here, not Μολ[οσσ]οῦ. Is it possible to imagine “when . . . was Molossian *prostatas*” rather than “was *prostatas* of the Molossians”? Patronymys as an element of the name of the *prostatas* are unknown before 240 (see above on **no. 2**), although “Molossos (son) of Agellys” cannot be ruled out. line 9: Fick first broke apart this name, Ἀγέλλιος, into two, with the assumption of a continuation of a list into the first part of line 10 (to explain the later Φοινατοί), but the name Ἀγέλλιος is now attested elsewhere in Dodona (Lhôte 2004, 166 col. II 145), and the comfortable spacing suggests that the inscription is ending here, with Φοινατοί added to characterize witnesses (and, perhaps, *prostatas*) as an afterthought. line 10: I see no sigma here: a sweeping vine-like object decorates this last line of the inscription, and what Fick takes as the top of a sigma is merely another branch of it.

5. *SGDI* 1360. Dodona. (Carapanos 1878a, 64 no. 22 and pl. XXXII.4; Fick 1879, 281; *IJG* 47; Cabanes 1976a, 584 no. 64 [*SEG* XXVI.712].) A family group (Cabanes 1976a, 460)? Fragment of bronze tablet, no original edges preserved, although (preserved) line one is the first line of the inscription (w 0.11). Second century BC (no reason given, *IJG* and Cabanes 1976a, 463). 300–250 BC. In National Museum, Carapanos collection no. 478.

- Θεός. τύχα. Ὑμένιος Λυσ[ανίας Ἑρμ-]
 ιόνα Ἑρμῶν Πτο[λεμαῖον]
 ξενικαὶ λύσι <ᾶ>[πέλυσαν.]
 Μάρτυρες Ἀγέλ[-αος or -λυσ Τρι-]
 5 π[ο]λίσις<ς>, Δαμοσ[θένης . .]
 [–]



“God. Fortune. Hymenios, Lys[anias, Herm]iona, (and) Hermon l[oosed] Pto[lemaios] by *xenike lysis*. Witnesses: Agela[os (or Agellys) Tri]p[o]lisio<s>, Damos[thenes . .].”

1 Θεός τύχα. Ὑμένιος Λυσ[ανία –] Carapanos, Θεός τύχα. Μένιος Λυσ[ανία Ἑρμ] Fick; 2 Πτο[λεμαῖου] Carapanos, Πτο[λεμαῖον] Fick; 3 ξενι καὶ Λυσιμ[άχῳ –] Carapanos, ξενικαὶ (!) λύσι ἀ[πέλυσαν.] Fick, stone *fin.* Λ; 5 [. .]λίσι Δαμοσ Carapanos, [Τριπτο]λίσι Fick, plaque reads ΛΙΣΙΟΙ.

In this rectangular fragment, the first line has eighteen (preserved) letters and each of the next four has twelve. Restorations for the righthand side of the plaque, if undertaken with the same three-to-two ratio, come out remarkably well. The other option is to ignore the larger letters and more generous spacing of lines 2–5 and restore the inscription to a uniform (26-letter) line-length, e.g., in line 3 “ξενικῇ λύσι ἀπέλυσαν δύο μᾶνι” and in line 4 adding a second name after Ἀγέλ[αος], thus making it possible to retain the reading of [Τρι]π[ο]λίσιοι in the plural in line 5. The crossbar of one Α goes down to the bottom point of the (right) hasta, while the other crossbars are straight; Ο is small; Σ is both open and with a horizontal bottom hasta. line 1: I restore the first line with twenty-six letters, preferring “Lysanias” in the nominative rather than the genitive, thus giving merely a simple list of four names (as the names of the ‘loosers’ in 1351, **no. 1** above, also are listed) rather than one name with a patronym and the others without. line 3, λύσι for λύσει: perhaps *IJG* thought this a sign of the influence of *koinē* transformations and thus downdated the inscription, but I would merely suspect an error (see on line 5; and 1355, **no. 6** below, spelled ‘Kelaiithos’ as ‘Kilaiithos’ in the last line). The verb is restored as an aorist, but a present tense is also possible. The inscriber has omitted the crossbar in the following Α. line 4: if the missing line end has seven spaces, then the second part of the name Agel[αος] or -[λυσ] takes up half of that. If the letter traces in the first half of line 5 are correctly interpreted as π[ο]λίσιο, then there is no room for a second name after Agelaos: the name must immediately be followed by [Τρι]π[ο]λίσιο<ς>. As a consequence, “Tripolisio-” must be singular, and the vertical stroke that mandates [Τριπ]ο[λί]σιοι must be an error. lines 5–6: Damosthenes does not end the (restored) line, and it is very likely that there was an ethnic for him, and at least one more name. The bottom of the plaque is not preserved.

6. *SGDI* 1355. Dodona. (Carapanos 1878a, 65–6, 68 nos. 28 and 38, and pl. XXXIII.1 and 11; Fick 1879, 280; Cabanes 1976a, 582–3 no. 59.) Copper tablet in two fragments, broken on all sides (w > 0.12). Early third century BC (Cabanes 1976a, 456). 300–250 BC. In National Museum, Carapanos collection nos. 503 and 492.

[———] Δωδ[ωναίος –]
 [–]φορος. προσ[τατεύοντος –]
 [–]Κε[λ]αίθου. Μάρ[τ]υρες τοῖδε [–]
 [–]θεάμβυς Κέλ[αι]θος, Φύλλ[–]
 5 [–]ειας Κίλαιθος (!) [–]
vacat.



“[–] Dod[onaios] –]! [–]phoros. [–]Kelaiithos was *pros[tatas]*. These were the wit[ne]sses: [–]theambus Kel[ai]thos, Phill[–]! [–]eias Kilaiithos (*sic*).” *vacat.*

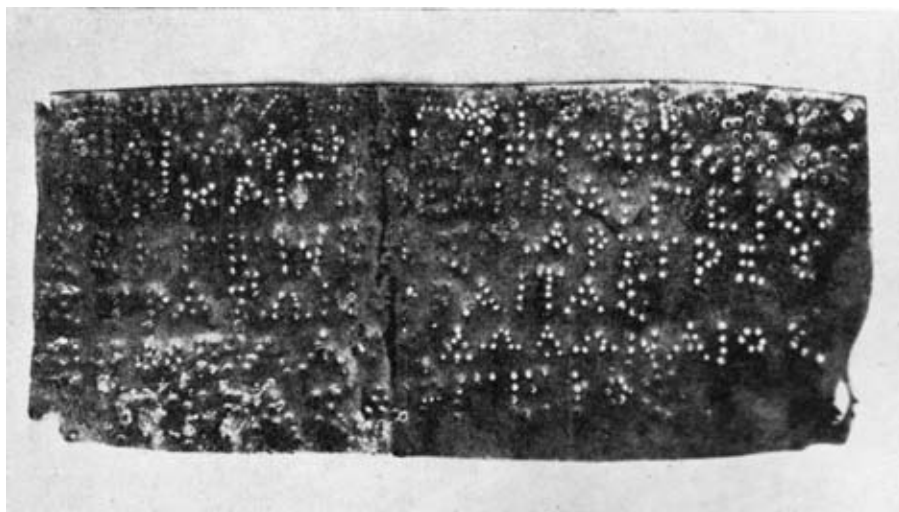
2 [–]τωνος, προσ Carapanos, [–]ρορος προσ Fick; 4 [–]σεαμβυς Carapanos, [–]αμβυς Fick.

Cabanes (1976a, 583) cautions that these two fragments (associated by Fick) may not actually belong together, since they do not actually join, and the letters of the right-hand fragment are a little more widely spaced. Even on the assumption that they do go together, it is impossible to determine even approximate line length. The apparently nominative case of [–]φορος in line 2 is also troubling: what sort of a document was this? The subject of manumissions or ‘loosings’ usually comes further up in the document.

The bottom hasta of Σ is horizontal and on the baseline; Ο is small; Ω is large and on the line. line 2 (left fragment): the first preserved letter of this line extends to the left of its vertical and is therefore

Φ, not P. line 4: the drawing is misleading. The first letter is circular and therefore most likely Θ, not Σ (what was taken to be the bottom of Σ was actually the top hasta of E in the next line). Hence [–]theambus rather than some other name; it does not exist in *LPGN* IIIA, but neither (other than in this inscription) did Seambus. Fick notes that Kilaithos is a later spelling of Kelaithos.

7. C70=Evangelides 1935, 247–8 no. 2 and pl. 26b. Dodona. (*BE* 1939.153 no. 2; Hammond 1967, 540; Cabanes 1976a, 586 no. 70; *SEG* LIV.575.) Copper tablet with holes in each of its four corners; found folded in half in mixed classical fill over the *naiskos* of Zeus (h 0.08, w 0.195; letter h 0.01). Fourth century BC (Evangelides, Cabanes 1976a, 457); ca. 340 BC (Hammond). 280–232 BC? Ioannina museum no. 2512.



Θεοί· τύχαν ἀγαθάν. Βοῖσκος Λε-
υκίαν ἀφῆκε ἐλεύθερον αὐ-
τὸν καὶ γενεάν καὶ γένο-
ς ἐκ γενεᾶς. Μάρτυρες·
5 Στράτων Ὀρραΐτας,
Ἐρχέλαος Δωδωναῖος,
Γύρας Ἀργεῖος.

“Gods (bring) good fortune. Boiskos let Leukias go free, himself and (his) offspring (γενεάν) and the progeny (γένος) from his offspring. Witnesses: Straton Horraitas, Erchelaos Dodonaïos, Gyras Argeios.”

1 Βοῖσκος Cabanes, Βοῖσκος *SEG*; 5 Ὀρραΐτας Cabanes, Ὀρραΐτας *SEG*.

The lines decrease in length from twenty-four letters (line 1) to twelve letters (line 7). A at times (e.g., line 4) gives the impression of ‘swinging’ or ‘curving’ at the ends; I is very tall; O is small; Σ can be formed with two hastae and a point (line 7), and is open; Ω is large-ish and on the line in line

5, but smaller and above the line in line 6, with ends that turn up a little. lines 1–2: Leukias is a name found once in Aetolia (*LGN IIIA*). line 5: Hammond (1967, 540) argues that the towns of Horreum (Horraion), Dodona, and Argos ?Ippaton (in the Acherusian plain) were all in the Molossian confederacy at the same time only starting ca. 340 BC. line 7: this line is indented two letter-spaces from the left edge.

8. C74=Cabanes 1976a, 588–9 no. 74 and pl. 10. Dodona. (*SEG XXVI.700*, *BE* 1977.261; Evangelides, 1955 [1960] 172 [mention only; no picture]; Vokotopoulou 1973, 84 no. 12; Bousquet 1982, 192=*SEG XXXII.1705*; Kontorini 1987, 628 no. 12 and pl. 8b.) Limestone stele, found built into the second Roman *naiskos* (h 0.495, w [top] 0.28, [bottom] 0.30); photograph 10 April 2007 (contrast enhanced). Reign of Alexander (I? 342–330 BC) (Evangelides). 272–ca. 242 BC (Alexander II). Ioannina museum no. 12.



- [Ἀγαθαί] τύχαι. Βασιλεύοντος
 [Ἀλεξ]άνδρου, ἐπὶ προστάτα Μο-
 λоссών Θευδότου Κορωνειάτα,
 γραμματεύοντος (!) δὲ Μενεδάμο[υ]
 5 Λαρρύσου. ἀφῆκε Φειδέτα Ἰων[ος]
 Κλεάνορα ἐλεύθερον καὶ μένο[υ-]
 τα καὶ ἀποτράχοντα ὅπαι κ' αὐτὸ[ς]
 προαιρῆται. Μάρτυρες· Μέγα[ς]

Σίνωνος, Ἀμύνανδρος Ἐρύξιο[ς],
 10 Δόκιμος Ἐρύξιος, Ἀμύνανδρος
 Ἴωνος, Νικάνωρ Ἀλίποντος.
vacat.

“[For good] Fortune. [Alex]andros was king. When Theudotos Koroneiatas was *prostatas* of the Molossians, Menedamos Larrauos was secretary. Pheideta (daughter of) Inon let Kleanor go free, staying and departing wherever he himself chooses. Witnesses: Megas (son) of Sinon, Amynandros Eryxios, Dokimos Eryxios, Amynandros (son) of Inon, Nikanor (son) of Halipon.” *vacat.*

1 [Θεός.] τύχα Evangelides, Cabanes, Kontorini.

This inscription is not too difficult to read, but is difficult to photograph because of the shallowness of the letters. A is straight-barred; O is about two-thirds the size of other letters; Σ is open and at times has curly ends; Ω is mostly large and on the line, although some occasionally float above it. When the stone does not observe word-division at the end of the line, it observes syllable-division (lines 3, 6). line 1: there is a vertical mark – a letter (I) – after τύχα, right next to the vertical crack on the stone; this demands the restoration of Ἀγαθῶι at the beginning of the line, and creates a line twenty-three letters long, on a stone where line length otherwise varies between twenty-two and twenty-five letters (restoration of Θεός gives a line only 20 letters long). line 6: The name Kleanor is found in Amantia and Epidamnus (*LGPN* IIIA). line 7: Bousquet objects to ἀποτράχοντα, but that is what the stone reads. lines 8–9: Cabanes suggests that the witness might also be Μέγας Ἴωνος, which would probably mean that this witness was a member of the manumittor’s family; but he also notes that the inscription otherwise observes word- or syllable-division, which makes this less likely.

9. *SGDI* 1346. Dodona. (Carapanos 1878a, 60–1 no. 15 and pl. XXXI.1; Fick 1879, 272–3; Roberts 1881, 117; Nilsson 1909, 61 n.1; Fraser 1954, 57; Franke 1955, 57–60 and Anl. 1 [*SEG* XVI.384]; Hammond 1967, 536–7 [*SEG* XXIV.455]; Cabanes 1976a, 577–8 no. 50 [*SEG* XXVI.706].) Bronze tablet, broken on all sides (w 0.12). A little before 240 BC (*SEG* XVI); Alexander I (Fraser); 342/1 BC (Hammond). 272-ca. 242 (Alexander II). In National Museum, Carapanos collection collection no. 477.

[Ἀγαθῶι τύχαι. Βασιλεύ-]
 [οντος Ἀλε]ξάν[δρου, προσ-]
 [τατε]ύ[ο]γτος Σαβυρ[τίου]
 [Μολο]σσῶν Ὀνοπέρνου [Κα-]
 5 [ρτα]τοῦ, Ἀμύνων δὲ [. . .]
 [. . ᾶ]φίητι Φεῖδους [. . .]
 [. . ἔλ]εύθερον τὸ πᾶ[ιδί-]
 [ον. Μ]άρτυρες· Ξ[.]
 [. . . .], Γέλων [.]
 10 [. . . .]ος Εὐράπι[ος, . . .]
 [. . . .]Π[. .]αιος, [.]
 [.]χο[.]
vacat.



“[For Good Fortune. Ale]xand[ros was ki]ng, Sabyr[tios], Onopernos [Karta]tos, [was *pros*]tates [of the Molo]ssians, and of the Amymnoi [. . . l . . .], Weidus set [. . . l . . .] [– f]ree, a ch[ild]. W]itnesses: X[. . . l . . .], Gelon [. . . l . . .]os Europi[os, . . . l . . .] II [. .]aios, [. . . l . . .]CHO[. . . l . . .]?” *vacat*.

2 ξαι. Carapanos, [Βασιλεύοντος Ἀλε]ξάν[δρου] Fick; 3 Σαβύρ[ωνος] Fick, Σαβύρ[ου] Franke, Σαβύρ[τίου] Cabanes; 4–5 [Καρτα]τοῦ Fick; 5 [. . .]τοῦ, Ἀμύμων Δεξ[άνδρου] Carapanos, Ἀμύμων δέ [. . .] Fick; 7 [. . . ἐλ]εύθερον τὸν α[ὑτοῦ] Carapanos, Fick.

The drawing makes the lettering of this plaque look starkly different from the lettering of the others, but upon autopsy – although the letters are as drawn, even a little pointier – it does not look as different from those others with small letters. That is, the anomalous quality of the lettering of the plaque is exaggerated if viewed only as a line drawing. The two pieces have not been realigned in the drawing. O is small; Y has a strong right-to-left downstroke; Ω is mostly small and floats above the line; letters tilt to the right.

line 3: Cabanes (1976a, 577–8) argues for restoring Sabyrtiou. line 5: Hammond (1967, 536–7), on the analogy of C35 (232–167 BC), hypothesizes that Ἀμύμων in lines 4–5 would be followed by the name of the *prostatas* of the Amymnoi; Cabanes (1976a, 577) follows this and suggests going back to reading δέ, which leaves only seven spaces for a name in the genitive. This is possible. In any case, there is no room for an ethnic or a patronym for our putative Amymnian *prostatas*. *LPGN* IIIA speculates that Ἀμύμων is a name in the nominative, in which case the letters that follow would also have to be part of a name. lines 7–8: the restoration τὸ πα[ίδιον] is proposed on the basis of my reading of the problematic letters at the end of the line. line 9: there may be some uninscribed space after Gelon. line 10: there looks like a gap in the middle of Europios, but this may just be a consequence of the irregular inscribing of this plaque; the name Eutropios (with omicron, not omega) in general seems to belong to the imperial period, and there are no other (known) options. Cabanes thought Europios an ethnic. lines 8–11: four names with ethnics should be restored here; it would appear that in lines 11–12 there should be either one or, possibly, two more. After the last preserved line, there is (vertically) an uninscribed stretch longer than that between lines; hence I have diagnosed a *vacat*, and the end of the inscription.

10. *SGDI* 1359+1362. Dodona. (Carapanos 1878a, 57 no. 10, 67 nos. 34–5, and pl. XXX.1 and XXXIII.7, 8; Fick 1879, 280–1; Roberts 1881, 115–16; Larfeld 1886, col. 928 and 1887, 528; *IUG* 38; Cabanes 1976a, 583–4 no. 63 [*SEG* XXVI.705]; Bousquet 1982, 192=*SEG* XXXII.1705.) Manumission by a family group (Cabanes 1976a, 460)? Three fragments of a bronze tablet; trapezoidal holes for posting preserved in both bottom corners (w > 0.27). Before 232 BC (Cabanes). 250–232 BC. In National Museum, Carapanos collection nos. 463, 490, and 495 (this last now in two fragments).

- [Θ]εός. [τύ]χα ἀγαθά. Βοί[σκ]ος,
 Φορμί<σ>κος, Ἐχενίκα, Δ(α)μ[ν]αγόρα
 Φλευχῶ ἐλευθέραν ἀφίεν[τι] καὶ α[ῦ-]
 τοὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἐκγόνων αὐ-
 5 τὰν καὶ γένος ἐκ γενεᾶς [ᾗ]ς καὶ Βοί-
 σκος καὶ Δαμναγόρα τελευτά[σ-]
 ωντι καὶ Φορμίσκος ἡβάση, τρ[α-]
 πεῖσθαι ὅπαι καὶ θέλη. Μάρτυρ-
 10 ες· Λάγορος Βατελών[ιο]ς, Κέφ[α-]
 λος Ὀπλαῖνος, Πολυπέρχων Ὀπ-
 λαῖνος, Σιμίας Κέλα[ι]θος. *vacat.*



“God, good fortune. Boi[sk]os, Phormi<s>kos, Echenika, (and) D(a)m[n]agora let Phleucho go free, they (setting her free) from themselves and their descendants, her and her progeny (γένος) from her offspring (γενεᾶς), [as] soon as Boiskos and Damnagora die and Phormiskos grows up, free to go wherever she wishes. Witnesses: Lagoros Batelon[i]os, Keph[a]llos Hoplainos, Polyperchon Hoplainos, Simias Kelaithos.”

Larfeld 1886 first combined the fragments; this apparatus criticus mostly includes readings only after that insight. 1 Βοῖσκος Carapanos, Fick, Cabanes, Βοῖσκος Chaniotis (*per epist.*); 2 Φορμίνοος Fick; 3 Φλεύχω Carapanos, Φλεύχω Larfeld (1886, 1887), Φλευχῶ Cabanes; 9 Βατελών[ιο]ς Cabanes, Βατελών[ιο]ς Chaniotis (*per epist.*); 10 Πολυπέρχων Larfeld (1886, 1887).

Carapanos has drawn the shapes of the letters quite accurately, although their occasional sense of ‘swing’ (Λ, line 11) does not come through as well as it does on autopsy, nor the way in which some (usually) straight letters lose their straight outlines and become blobby: Γ in line 4, but also Λ in line 10. The second hasta of Π at times goes almost all the way down to the baseline (line 8). In line 2, if the first name, Φορμί<σ>κος, has been read correctly, then the sigma is lunate (although the plaque is damaged here); or the name is simply misspelled. Ω is small and tilted, and floats above the line. Letters tilt to the right. The three fragments have been rearranged in the picture to convey more precisely than in Carapanos their relationship to each other. line 3: Bousquet speculated (because Φλευχῶ is so odd) that the first two letters were actually the end of Damnagora’s name, but without having the drawing in front of him. line 5: [ᾗ]ς καὶ for ἕως ἄν in this dialect and elsewhere, quite straightforwardly means ‘as long as’ or ‘until.’ That is clearly not the meaning here, where Phleucho will be free only after two of the manumittors have died and a third has grown up. Angelos Chaniotis suggests to me that ᾗς καὶ is for ἥς καὶ, which in turn is a version of ἥς ἡμέρας καὶ, or (as it would be in Attic) ἥς ἂν ἡμέρας, “within the day when,” “as soon as.” This locution is found (without a governing preposition, as here) in a Cretan inscription (Chaniotis (1996, 384–5 no. 64B line 6): κ’ ἐλθωντι [τᾷ]ς ἡμέρας), “innerhalb eines Tages nach ihrer Ankunft,” early third century BC). lines 7–8: ἡβάση for ἡβάση, θέλη for θέλη. line 10: the drawing suggests the name Polypeuchon, but on autopsy it is Polyperchon.

11. C72=Evangelides 1935, 251 no. 4 (no picture). Dodona. (*BE* 1939.153; Cabanes 1976a, 587 no. 72.) Fragment of bronze tablet; found in mixed classical fill over the *naiskos* of Zeus (h 0.04, w 0.034). Third century BC before 232 (Cabanes 1976a, 457). 250–167 BC. Could not be located either in the Ioanina museum or in the National Museum.

[-]	[-]
[- .]I[.]AΛK[. -]	[- .]I[.]ALK[. -]
[- . . .]AOI ἀφῆκ[αν ἐλεύθερον -]	[- . .]AOI they let g[o free -]
[-]ΩΝ Θεόξ[ενος -]	[- . .]ON Theox[enos -]
5 [- . .]NEA[. . -]	[- . .]NEA[. . -]

Evangelides published this fragment, but it has not (to my knowledge) been seen since 1935. Evangelides reported broken-barred A, oval Φ, and large Ω sitting on the baseline; a broken-barred alpha suggests the second half of the third century at the earliest.

12. C73=Evangelides 1935, 251–2 no. 7 (no picture). Dodona. (*BE* 1939.153; Cabanes 1976a, 587–8 no. 73; identified as a manumission because of σώματα in last line.) Stone fragment, broken on all sides (h 0.22, w 0.20). Third century BC before 232 (Cabanes 1976a, 457). 250–167 BC. Ioannina museum no. 388a, but could not be located in 2007.

[-]YX[-]	[-]UCH[-]
[-]YNOY[-]	[-]UNOU[-]
[-]ΩΤΙΩ[-]	[-]OTIO[-]
[-]ΕΤΩΙ δὲ [-]	[-]ΕΤΟΙ and [-]
5 [-]οντες Ο[-]	[-]ontes O[-]
[-]ευρου ΜΑ[-]	[- of -]euros MA[-]
[-]Ξένυος Μ[-]	[-]of Xenys M[-]
[-]ος Φιλόξεν[ος -]	[-]os Philoxen[os -]
[-]νδρος Σωσιμ[-]	[-]ndros Sosim[-]
10 [-]ας Σίμων Σίμα[-]	[-]as Simon Sima[-]
[-]Ἀν]άξανδρος Ἀρι[-]	[- An]axandros Ari[-]
[-]ΕΤΟΟΣ[-]	[-]ΕΤΟΟΣ[-]
[-] σώματα Π[-]	[-] slaves (“bodies”) P[-]

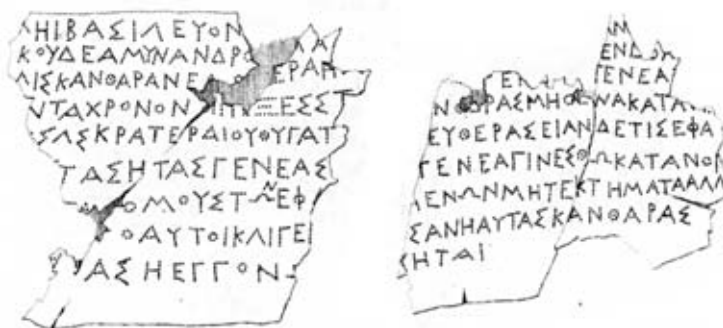
1 ω Evangelides; 2 υνθ Evangelides; 6 ειρου MA Evangelides; 7 Ξένυος K Evangelides.

Cabanes made corrections, improving Evangelides’s text in lines 1, 2, 6, and 7 (although dotting the end letters in these lines); I follow his text, having been unable to locate the stone myself. It is doubtful that this is a manumission, since there are so many names (at least six), and so many names have not been seen since *SGDI* 1351 (**no. 1**, above); and σώματα comes very late for it to be the subject of the inscription. Evangelides reported broken-barred A, suggesting the second half of the third century at the earliest.

13. *SGDI* 1363. Dodona. (Carapanos 1878a, 68 no. 39 and pl. XXXIII.12; Fick 1879, 282; Cabanes 1976a, 585 no. 67.) Fragment of a bronze tablet, broken on all sides; uncertain whether a manumission (w 0.03). Third century BC before 232 (Cabanes 1976a, 457). 250–167 BC. In National Museum, Carapanos collection collection no. 498.

Abbreviation of “Molossians” also occurs in the later C76 (no. 26), but admittedly in an entirely different way. lines 2–3: “Kartatos” was also an option here, but is one letter longer than Karopos (which I spell as in *SGDI* 1350=no. 27), and the name of the manumittor is dangerously short as it is: I restore with room for a five-letter name, [. . .]âς, for which there are many options. line 4: Larfeld (1887) thought to restore [ξενικαῖ (!) λ]ύσει here, but my restored length of line does not permit this. lines 4–5: this is either one long name, Δ[εξαμενα]ῖος (attested at Buthrotum, *I. Bouthr.* 53.6), or two short ones. With the -ῖος ending after the gap it is possible that the second of the two short ‘names’ was an ethnic, since the next name, Lamiskos, could also be restored with an ethnic (although the apparently only known option, ‘Ama[ntian’] (Ἀμαντιεύς), is not yet epigraphically attested, but would almost fill the entire gap). line 7: a name beginning in Ἀργι- could be Ἀργίας, known from a list of 137 men on a lead plaque from Dodona, read by Lhôte 2004, 116 and 124 (*SEG* LIV.577); or perhaps a name like Ἀργυκλίδας (from Tanagra, *IG* VII 509.1, Bechtel 1917, 64) – which would fit the space exactly and allow Δαμ- to be the beginning of the next name or ethnic. If these reconstructed ethnics are possible, it is worth noting that non-Molossians are witnessing a ‘freeing *epi lusei*,’ perhaps like (as I have argued) *SGDI* 1351 (no. 1). Or these could all be single names in the nominative, and there could have been an ethnic for the entire group in the part of the plaque to the bottom that is missing.

15. *SGDI* 1348. Dodona. (Carapanos 1878a, 61–3 nos. 17–18 and pl. XXXI.3–4; Rangabé 1878, 117–18 [associated the two fragments]; Fick 1879, 274–5 [associated the two fragments correctly]; Roberts 1881, 117–18; Franke 1955, 56 n.9; Hammond 1967, 592–3; Cabanes 1976a, 579–80 no. 52 [*SEG* XXVI.708].) Copper tablet, stretches of top and bottom edge preserved (no corners) (w > 0.25). 237–234 BC (Hammond). 297–232 BC. In National Museum, Carapanos collection nos. 458–9.



- [Ἀγαθῇ τύχη. Βασιλεύον[τος . . . 15–16]ΑΝ[. . . . 8 . . .]
[. . . . 8 . . .]κου δὲ Ἀμυνάνδρου[. . .] ἀ[φῆκε σώμα τὸ γένος] ἐνδοχ[ενή Κρα-]
[τεραίος . . .]λις Κανθάραν ἐλ[ευθ]έραν α[ὐτὰν καὶ] γένος[ς ἐκ] γενεᾶ[ς νῦν καὶ]
[εἰς τὸν ἅπα]ντα χρόνον. Μὴ ἐξέσστ[ω δὲ Κα]νθάρας μηθένα καταδ[ουλίξ-]
5 [εσθαι ὡς οὐ]σ<α>ς Κρατεραίου θυγατ[ρὸς ἐλ]ευθέρας. Εἰὰν δὲ τις ἐφά[πτη-]
[ται αὐτῶν ἢ αὐ]τὰς ἢ τὰς γενεὰς, [αὐτὸς ἢ] γενεὰ γινέσθω κατὰ νόμ[ον?]
[ἄδικος κατὰ τοὺς] γόμους τῶν ἐφα[πτο]μένων. Μήτε κτήματα ἄλλ[α]
[. 15?]ο αὐτοὶ κ<α>ὶ γε[νεὰν πᾶ]σαν ἢ αὐτὰς Κανθάρας
[. . . . 8? . . . αὐτοσα]υτᾶς ἢ ἐγγόνω[ν]κῆται. *vacat*.

“With good fortune. [–] was king, [when – ,] and (when) Amyndro[s was . . .]kos. [Krateraios . . .]is set the [slave by descent in-born] Kanthara free, h[er and her] progeny (γένος) from (her) offspring (γενεάς), [now and] for all time. Let it not be possi[ble] for anyone to reduce [Kan]thara [to slavery, on account of her be]ing a free daughter of Krateraios. And if anyone should lay ha[nds on them, either h]er or her offspring, let [him or his] offspring become criminal according to the law [(that is), according to the l]aws concerning those who seize. Nor, with respect to other possessions, [–], they and the entire generation of either Kanthara her [– very own] self or her descendan[ts –]KETAI.” *vacat*.

1 [Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. Βασιλεύον[τος Πτολεμαίου Ἀλεξ]άν[δρου] Fick, [Νεοπτολέμου Ἀλεξ]άν[δρου] Franke; 2 [–]κου Carapanos, [–]χου Fick (thus *SGDI*, [ἐπὶ ναίαρ]χου δέ); 2 [ἀφῆκ]εν Δο[–] Fick; 2–3 Δο[κίμα Πια]λῖς *SGDI*; 4 [ἄπα]ντα Carapanos, [εἰς τὸν ἄπα]ντα Fick; 4 κατα[δουλι]ζεσθαι *SGDI*; 5 [ὥς οὐ]σας Κρατεραίον θυγατ[ρὸς καί] Fick; 5–6 ἐφά[πτηται ἡ αὐ]τῆς Fick; 9 κηται Fick.

The hand or engraving tool changes in line 2 (Ἀμυνάνδ[ρ]ο), and changes back (to the finer tool/hand) in line 5 ([–]ευθέρας//Εἰάν). A at times has curved or almost broken bars (lines 2, 5: autopsy); O is small; Σ is mostly very open; Ω is tilted and above the line. Letters often lean right. The line length varies considerably in this plaque. An approximate line length is given by lines 4–5, which although incomplete give enough of a sense of what was probably there, ca. fifty-three or fifty-four letters. In lines 2–3 the letters are more cramped and, proportionately, might give a line as long as fifty-seven letters, which is what I have restored in line 3. line 1: Cabanes 1976a, 580 objected to the *koinē* spelling, but the H in [Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ] is clearly there on the plaque. (In line 5, Εἰάν δέ τις is also a non-dialectal version of αἰ δέ τί κα, and note κτήματα for κτάματα in line 7.) In other Dodonan inscriptions dated by kings, all but two (C1 and C3) follow the name of the king with the name of the *prostatas* (or, in the case of 1346, two *prostatai*). line 2: Cabanes noted (1976a, 580) that *SGDI*'s reading of X to begin the line could not stand, since both drawing and plaque give K. Could this be a mis-spelling of ναίρχου as ναίάρκου? The word must be an office in the genitive, marked by the δέ that follows, and no other option in the northwest is even close. The restoration of the first two lines has proved very difficult. Fick wished to restore a king with a patronym in line one, Franke a different king with a patronym. But is this necessary? Often kings in dating formulae do not use patronyms at all.

[Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. Βασιλεύον[τος Πτολεμαίου Ἀλεξ]άν[δρου, ἐπὶ] (Fick)

It is therefore also possible to imagine:

[Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. Βασιλεύον[τος Πυρροῦ ἐπὶ προστάτ]α Μ[ολοσσῶν]
[7 letters: name and ethnic -ι]κου δέ Ἀμυνάνδρο[υ]

or:

[Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. Βασιλεύον[τος Πυρροῦ ἐπὶ προστάτ]α Ν[7 letters: name]
[7 letters: name and ethnic -ι]κου δέ Ἀμυνάνδρο[υ]

The δέ in line 2 makes less likely the possibility that a name from line 1 continues into line 2; usually the δέ in this position marks another office, e.g.:

[Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. Βασιλεύον[τος Πυρροῦ ἐπὶ προστάτ]α Ν[7 letters: name]
[ἐπὶ ναίαρ]κου δέ Ἀμυνάνδρο[υ]

This would be more plausible, except for the fact that this misspelling of ναίρχου is not attested, and therefore should not be restored. I have therefore felt compelled to leave much of this first line-

and-a-half unrestored. line 2: the letter following the gap after Αμυνάνδο[υ –] could be either K or Λ; the break is just where the hasta of the K would be slanting upwards. Later in the line I am emboldened to borrow a phrase (σῶμα τὸ γένος ἐνδογενῆ) from later Delphic epigraphy (where it is frequent, appearing with this spelling, ἐνδογενῆ rather than ἐνδογενές, fifty-one times; its first appearance is *SGDI* 2229 [186 BC?]), and indeed to make Krateraios [. . .] is the manumittor, because by the terms of the manumission Kanthara is ‘officially’ his daughter, which suggests that she might have been his natural daughter to begin with. lines 4–6: most of these restorations were made by *SGDI*; I supply αὐτὸς ἦ in the middle of line 6. line 5: Κρατερᾶιος has been read as a name. But could it actually be a type of adjectival patronym (see Mendez Dosuna 1985, 191–2), which would then mandate the restoration of a shorter name (Krateros) in lines 1–2: “since she, being ‘daughter of Krateros,’ is his free daughter”? It is absurdly wordy, but this is an inscription much devoted to over-stating formulae, and taking Κρατερᾶιος as an adjective gives Kanthara a signifier of freedom and permits the restoration of Krateros [. . .] is in lines 2–3, where, because two letters shorter, it fits perfectly. line 9: part of this line is restored on the analogy of *FD* 3.3.26; this plaque is very emphatic about Kanthara herself all the way through, so this is just one more way of driving this home. line 9 mid: ἐγγόνω[v] for ἐκγόνω[v]. line 9 end: Carapanos read ηται, Fick κηται; no traces of a letter are now visible. The bottom edge is complete, but there is no witness list.

16. *SGDI* 1361. Dodona. (Carapanos 1878a, 67 no. 32 and pl. XXXIII.5; Fick 1879, 281; Cabanes 1976a, 584 no. 65 [*SEG* XXVI.713].) Fragment of a copper tablet, broken on all sides (h 0.10). First half of third century BC (Cabanes 1976a, 457). 250–167 BC. In National Museum, Carapanos collection no. 474.

[Ἀγαθαὶ τύχ]αι. ἀφίησ[ι Ἀρετάφιλον]
[ἐλευθέρο]ν Φιλοθίν[ος . . . ca. 7–8 . . .]
[καὶ αὐτὸν κ]αὶ γενεὰν κα[ὶ γένος ἐκ]
[γενεᾶς εἰ]ς τὸν ἄπαν[τα χρόνον].
5 [Ἔστω Ἀ]ρετάφιλος [ἀνέφαπτος]
[ἀπὸ πάντων. Μά]ρτυρες [–]
[–]ΑΝΔ[–]



“[With good fortu]ne. Philothin[os –] lets [go Aretaphilos] | [fre] | [both him a]nd his offspring an[d progeny from that] | [offspring f]or all [time.] | [Let Ar]etaphilos [be untouchable] | [by everyone. Wi]ttnesses: [–] | [–]ΑΝΔ[–].”

1–2 Fick restored ἀφίησ[ι ἐλευθέρα]ν Φιλόθιν [αὐτὰν κ]αί, but as much to give the sense as anything; 7 ΑΝΑ Fick.

One Α has a crossbar that goes all the way down to the bottom of the (right) hasta; Σ has horizontal bottom hastae; one Φ has a flat bottom (as in **no. 17**); the others do not. If the restoration of ἀνέφαπτος in line 5 is correct, this would make it much more likely that this inscription dates ca. 235–167 BC, since this language seems to come into use then (at Dodona, the first usage is the above **no. 15**); the use of a *koinē* form, and a flat-bottomed Φ and slant-barred Α, would not contradict this dating. line 1: *SGDI* did not report the first two letters of the line, which are clearly visible (although the crossbar of what I think is an Α is not). Note that this is not a dialect form of the verb, which would be ἀφίητι. line 2: the first surviving letter of this line (also unreported in *SGDI*) is a vertical stroke – perhaps one hasta of a Ν, although I cannot see the diagonal. Φιλόθιν is not really an acceptably formulated name (although it is now listed in *LGPV* IIIA); I have constructed a name (on the analogy

of Ἀγαθῖνος, Ἄνθινος, Παρωῖνος, and Σκυθῖνος), and one that is also more clearly masculine. The end of the line will have had the manumittor's ethnic. line 3: I restore the rest of this semi-formulaic expression according to C70 (no. 7), *SGDI* 1359+1362 (no. 10), and *SGDI* 1348 (no. 15). Note that, as I have restored this inscription, it observes word-division at the ends of the lines. line 4: Cabanes doubts *SGDI*'s reading of ἄπαν[–] rather than the AMAN[–] that appears in the drawing; but the plaque itself has a diagonal defect in the middle of the disputed letter, so the underlying letter could indeed be a Π. line 5: this line is restored *exempli gratia*, to show one way of incorporating a name (of the freed man, I think) in the nominative after he has been freed; the formula ἀνέφρατος ἀπὸ πάντων appears in second-century Delphic manumission inscriptions. line 7: the choices are A or Δ for the last letter; I think that, in a name, Δ is more likely. line 8: there is a trace of a possible triangular letter, or part of a decoration, here.

17. *SGDI* 1347. Dodona. (Carapanos 1878a, 61 no. 16 and pl. XXXI.2; Fick 1879, 273–4; Roberts 1881, 117; Nilsson 1909, 61 n.1; Franke 1955, 57–60 and Anl. 1 [*SEG* XVI.385]; Hammond 1967, 537 and 566; Cabanes 1976a, 578–9 no. 51 [*SEG* XXVI.707].) Bronze tablet, right edge (partially) and right bottom edge preserved; what appears to be a hole for a nail in the bottom right corner in the drawing is not one (h 0.13). Franke argues for dissociating 1346 and 1347 on the basis of letter-form; Fick, Nilsson, and Cabanes 1976a, 453 thought the letter forms the same. Ca. 230 BC (*SEG* XVI); after 330–310 BC (Hammond); after 232 BC (Cabanes 1976a, 456). 232–190 BC. In National Museum, Carapanos collection no. 467.

- [Ἐπικοινῆται Διὶ] Νάοι καὶ Δι-
[ώναι. Στραταγούντος Ἀ]πιρω[τᾶν (!)]
[.] προστατε]ύοντ[ος Μ-]
[ολοσσῶν Ἀγα]θᾶι τύχα[ι].
5 [.]αχος, [Κ]λεοπάτρα Π-
[. Μολ]οσσοὶ Ὀμφαλες Χιμό-
[λιοι ἀφῆκαν τ]ὰ ἴδια σώματα γυναι-
[κεια τέσσ]αρα οἷς ὀνόματα Φιλῶ Μ-
[.]ΔΑΜΑ ἐλεύθερα. Μάρτ-
10 [υρες Π]αυσανία, Ἑκτωρ Ἀνδρ-
[.]Ἑκτορος, Ἀλκι[.]
[.]ς, Νικάν<ω>ρ Φι<λ>ιστίδ-
[α, Μ]ενελάου, Μολοσοὶ (!)
[vacat 7 Ὀμφαλ]ες Χιμόλιοι. vacat.



“[It is communicated to Zeus] Naos and Dionē. [.] was *strategos* of the E]piro[tes, was *pros]tat[as* of the Molossians. With go]d fortune. [.]achos, [K]leopat[ra, P] , Molo]ssians, Omphale[s] Chimo[l]ioi, set their own four female slaves, by names Philo, M[. and?]DAMA, free. Witnes[ses: , (son) of P]ausanias, Hektor, (son) of Andr[. , (son) of He]ktor, Alki[.], Nikan<ο>r, (son) of Phi<λ>istas, [. , (son) of M]enelaos, Molosoi (*sic*), [Omphal]es Chimol[ioi].” vacat.

1 Νάοι καὶ Διόναι.] Fick; 2 [Ἀ]πιρω[τᾶν] Fick, [βασιλεύοντος Ἀ]πιρω[τᾶν] Nilsson, [Στραταγούντος Ἀ]πιρω[τᾶν] Franke; 3 οντ Carapanos, ύοντ Fick; 5 [– μ]αχος, Νεοπάτρα Fick, Κλεοπάτρα Cabanes; 6 Χιμ{ώ} Fick; 8 [κεια τέσσ]αρα Fick; 9 δαμα Fick, λαμα *SGDI*, Cabanes; 12 Νικάναρ Fick, Φιδιστω? Cabanes.

More striking than the accurately drawn letter forms, which like 1346=no. 9 lose their impact when seen on the plaque, is the depth to which each line has been driven, so that the bronze pillows up between each line. The second hasta of Π goes all the way down to the baseline once (line 2); Σ has its bottom hasta sometimes on the baseline, sometimes not; Υ can have a strong left-to-right down-stroke; Φ is almost triangular; Ω is large and on the baseline (lines 2, 14), but also smaller and tilted above it (line 8). Line 7 helps to establish the line length as ca. twenty-seven letters; I have generally restored twenty-seven letters except in lines 1–2, where I have restored twenty-three and twenty-five. line 1/line 4: note delayed invocation, which means it cannot be restored in the fourteen-letter gap in line 1. What could possibly go in line 1? It could not have been blank, since the right end of the line is not centered. ἐπικονιῆται is a word with which some Dodonan oracular inscriptions begin (e.g., Lhôte 2006 nos. 2, 3, 4, 8, 57, 85, 93, 105, 118, 137a, and 141b); there are otherwise also surprising overlaps between these documents and oracle-inscriptions, like the attested phenomenon of starting an oracular lead strip with Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ or some other regular form of invocation; I speculate with this restoration that the influence or overlap can travel in both directions. line 5: Cabanes (1976a, 579) suggested that instead of ‘Neopatra’ the name should be ‘Kleopatra.’ I agree: what was taken as the last hasta of a Ν, slanting up to the right, is precisely where the break in the bronze is; more reliable is the diagonal before it (also taken as part of a Ν, but more likely the second hasta of Λ). Also, the traces of letters along the bottom of the break suggest *two* letters after the Ο, so ΟΣ[.] Λ, and it seems pretty clear that -ος is the end of a name. So the next name must have two letters, not one, before the clearly readable Ε. lines 6–7: the plaque reads Χιμόλιοι, which in line 14 is spelled Χιμόλιοι. line 9: ΛΑΜΑ is likely to be -δαμα, since I can find no female name ending in -λαμα, but several ending in -δαμα. lines 11–12: Αλκι- cannot be another (son) of Ἐκτωρ, since then his name would be fourteen letters long, and no such name exists. Better to think in terms of two long names (e.g., Alkisthenes and patronym longer than Ἐκτορος). line 12: in *LPGN* IIIA, no Nikanar (only Nikanor and Nikandros, both common); and names beginning with Φύλ- are numerous and those beginning with Φιδ- non-existent; so I again correct in the direction of attested names. Note that, after 232 BC, witnesses with patronyms *and* ethnics become more common. line ‘15’: after the inscription has finished, two small letters do appear, apparently randomly, on the plaque: Ξ and Α. I have no explanation for this, except that possibly the plaque was reused and these letters were not smoothed out; or perhaps that this was random graffiti.

18. C69=Cabanes 1976a, 585–6 no. 69. Dodona. (Carapanos 1878a, 68 no. 41 and pl. XXXIII.14.) Bronze fragment, broken on all sides, of (manumission?) witness-list (w 0.05). Second century BC (Cabanes). 190–167 BC. In National Museum, Carapanos collection no. 489.

[– traces of five letters]δ[. .]υς Ν[–]
 [–]. Μάρτυρες: Ι[–]
 [–]ς, Ἀντίνου[ς –]
 [– Πολύ]κλειτος
 [–] *vacat*?



“[–]δ[. .]υς Ν[–]Ι[–]ς, Ἀντίνου[ς –]Πολύκλειτος.”

Properly transcribed by Cabanes, who records the letters in the first line, and suggests restorations for the names in lines 3 and 4.

Not-very-fine letters engraved with the finer engraving tool; lunate Ε and Σ, the Σ (like Ο) floating a bit off the line. There is more space between the lines than the drawing indicates. Τ twice has its crossbar only to the left. If the list of names published by Antoniou 1991 (and republished by Lhôte

2004) allows conclusions about the date after which lunate letters became common, then this plaque and those with lunate letters that follow are all likely to date after 190 BC but before 167 BC, the end of the Epirote *koinon* (for almost all purposes). line 2: the last letter (not noted in previous publications) could (on autopsy) also be Y. line 3: the first preserved letter is exactly as drawn. The closest existing parallel seems to be sigma, so that is what I have deemed it. line 4: there is one dot after the end of the name, so it is not clear whether the inscribed letters here end or continue. line '5': four dots, as accurately depicted in the drawing, but whether they add up to a letter, to a floral design, or to stray marks I cannot tell; there seems to be enough of a gap between this 'line' and the line above, as well as space before this mark, to deduce that this inscription did finish before 'line' five.

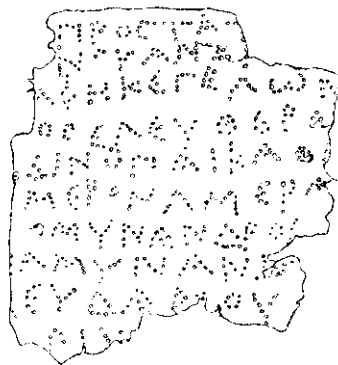
19. Dakaris 1967 [1969] 48 no. 1 (no picture). Dodona. Fragment of bronze plaque (witness-list), found in the area of the *trigono*n, west of the *naiskos* (h 0.07, w 0.067). No description of letters (although Dakaris: "with letters of the fourth century BC"). Third-second century BC (?). In Ioannina museum (not found, 2007)?

[–] Μάρτυρε[ς –]
[–] Νικόλαο[ς –]
[–] Δέρκα[–]
[–]
[–] ΜΑ[–]

[–] Witness[es –]
[–] Nikolao[–]
[–] Derka[–]
[–]
[–] MA[–]

20. *SGDI* 1357. Dodona. (Gomperz 1881, 134–5 and drawing; Cabanes 1976a, 583 no. 61.) Bronze tablet, broken on all sides (no dimensions given). Second century BC (Cabanes). 190–167 BC. From a drawing sent to Gomperz from Krakow; original lost?

[Ἐπὶ] προστάτ[α Μολοσσῶν]
[. . .] νου Ἄντα.[. . . ca. 8–9 . . .]
[. . .] ἀφῆκε Γέλων [.]
[. . .] ος ἐλευθέρα[ν ἀποτρ-]
5 [ἀχ]εῖν ὅπαι κα θέ[λη ἀπὸ τ-]
[ἄς σά]μερον ἀμέρα[ς, Μάρτ-
[υρες] <A>μύνανδρος [.]
[. . .] Ἀμύνανδ[ρος]
[. . .] Εὐδάμου [.]
10 [. . .] ΓΙΥ[. ca. 12]



"[When . . .]nos the Anta[–] was *prosta*[tas of the Molossians], Gelon [.]os let [–] go free, to depart wherever she wishes from the present d[ay. Witnesses:] <A>mynandros [.], Amynand[ros], of Eudamos [.]GIU[. . . . ca. 12]."

2 Ἄνξ Gomperz, *SGDI*; 4 ἐλευθερ[ον] Gomperz, *SGDI*; 4–5 [ἀποτρίχ]εῖν Gomperz, *SGDI*; 5–6 [ἀπὸ τῆς] σάμερον ἀμέρα[ς] Gomperz, *SGDI*; 7 plaque (drawing) Ὀμύνανδρος, Ἀμύνανδρος Gomperz, *SGDI*.

Lunate, E (not always), Σ, Ω; second hasta of Π does not reach the baseline; some apical letters like Λ have ‘swing’. Mostly the drawing gives the impression of extreme sloppiness. It was possible to restore as if to an eighteen- or nineteen-letter line, although this remains speculative since no edge of the plaque as drawn appears to be original. line 2: the second name (an ethnic) in this line appears to begin with Ἀνγα, Ἀγγα, Ἀλγα, or (perhaps most likely) Ἀντα, followed by a vertical that could be Ν, Ρ, or Ι (this last a little less likely). lines 2–3: after the ethnic is the name of the (female) freed slave, her sex indicated by the ἐλευθέρα[v] of line 4. line 3: Gelon [.] is the manumittor. line 4: ἐλευθέρα[v] is very clear to me, and the last letter does not resemble any of the other omicrons. lines 4–5: [ἀποτράχ]ειν restored on analogy with C74=no. 8 (line 7). lines 7–8: Omyndandros does not exist as a name; this is therefore corrected into Amyndandros, and the second Amyndandros restored as in the nominative as well (with the necessity of a short patronym or ethnic, followed by a short name for the third witness). lines 9–10: another name and, probably, patronym or ethnic. line 10: never included previously in a transcription of the text. The first preserved letter is also, possibly, an incomplete omicron. The last letter could also be a X. We do not have the bottom of the plaque.

21. *SGDI* 1358. Dodona. (Gomperz 1881, 135–6 and drawing; Cabanes 1976a, 583 no. 62 [*SEG* XXVI.711].) Bronze tablet, broken on all sides (no dimensions given). Second century BC (Cabanes). 190–167 BC. From a drawing sent to Gomperz; original lost?

[Προστατεύοντ]ος Μολο[σσῶν]
[. ca. 11 , μη]νὸς Φοιν[ικαίου]
[. ca. 11]μίσκου Μ[.]
[ἀφῆκε ἐλεύθερ]ον ἀποτ[ράχ-]
5 [εἰν ὅπαι κα θέλ]η ἀπό τε τὰ[ς σ-]
[άμερον ἀμέρα]ς, Μάρτυρες: Ξε-
[. . . ca. 7] Δωδωναῖοι, Ἀνίκα[τ-]
[ος . . . ca. 7]ρου, [Φί]λλιος Λ[. . .]
[. ca. 12]ιτας Κ[. . .]
decoration



“[. ca. 11 was *prostat*]es of the Molo[ssians, in the mo]nth Phoin[ika]ios. ca. 11 (son) of]iskos, [set] Μ[.] [fre]e, to depart [wherever he wishe]s from the [present da]y. Witnesses: Xe[. . . and], Dodona[ia]ns, Anika[to]s, (son) of [.]ros, Phillios L[. ca. 12 , -]itas K[. . .].”

2 Φοιν[ατοῦ] Gomperz, *SGDI*, [μη]νὸς Φοιν[ικα . . . ου] Cabanes; 4 ἀποτ[ρέχειν] Gomperz; 6 fin. Ξ Gomperz, Cabanes, Σ *SGDI*; 8 [Φέ]λλιος Gomperz, [Φί]λλιος Fick; 9 [π]ας Gomperz.

This plaque can be restored with lines of twenty-one or twenty-two letters (except line 2, which should be ca. twenty-six, and its letters look commensurately cramped), although there is much that is uncertain and no edge appears to be an original one. If drawn accurately, Σ and Ε are lunate but Ω is not (it is instead large, blocky, and on the line). line 2, where the letters are very cramped, can be restored with more than twenty-two letters (it seems to get in approximately three letters for every two in the line above it). If the restorations proposed here are to work, then a name and an ethnic in the genitive (the *prostatas*) must fit into the first part of line two, anywhere between eleven and nineteen letters; this seems possible. Cabanes restored a month formula on the basis of C75 (no. 25), where no day is specified (as here too). line 3: the name of the manumittor is in the first part of

the line, followed by (?) a patronym ending in -μίσκου. The short name of the male slave freed follows, beginning with M[. . .]. lines 4–5: [ἀποτρίλχ]ειν restored on analogy with C74=no. 8 (line 7). lines 4–6: these restorations were first suggested by *SGDI*. line 6: the first letter after Μάρτυρες looks to me like a Ξ, and the letter following it could be the top part of a lunate epsilon (preferable to simple omicron, since no names yet known seem to begin Ξο-). lines 6–7: the two Dodonaian witnesses must have very short names. lines 6–9: I estimate five witnesses, two with ethnics, one with a patronym (in the genitive), and two where this cannot be determined. line 8: [Φί]λλιος exists in S. Italy (*LGPNI* IIIA), [Φέ]λλιος as yet exists nowhere else, hence the restoration of [Φί]λλιος has been preferred.

22. *SGDI* 1349. Dodona. (Carapanos 1878a, 58–9 no. 13 and pl. XXX.4; Fick 1879, 275; Roberts 1881, 116; Cabanes 1976a, 580 no. 53.) Complete bronze tablet missing only the bottom left corner; three holes for posting and a large decayed iron nail in the middle of the peaked top edge (h 0.17). 190–167 BC. In National Museum, Carapanos collection no. 464.

Ἀγαθὰί τύχαι.
 Στραταγοῦντος Ἀπειρωτᾶν Ἀν-
 δρονίκου ὕγχεστοῦ ἀφήκε
 ἐλευθέραν Φιλίσταν Νεί-
 5 κανδρος Ἀνεροίτα Ταλαι-
 ἄν ἄτεκνος. Μάρτυρες Δό-
 κιμος Βοίσκου, Εὐρύνου
 Δέρκα, Ἀντίοχος Μενε-
 φύλεν, Ἀνδροκος Νικο-
 10 μάχου Ταλαιᾶνες, Βο-
 ῖσκος Νεικάνδρου Ὀποῦ-
 ος, *vacat*.



“With Good Fortune. Andronikos Hynchestos was *strategos* of the Apirotes; Neikandros (son) of Aneroitas, Talaian, being childless let go free Philista. Witnesses: Dokimos (son) of Boiskos, Eurinous (son) of Derkas, Antiochos (son) of Menephylos, Androkos (son) of Nikomachos, (all) Talaianes; Boiskos (son) of Neikandros, Opouos.”

7, 11 Βοίσκου, Βοίσκος Carapanos, Fick, Cabanes; Βοίσκου, Βοίσκος Chaniotis (*per epist.*).

Ε, Σ, and Ω are lunate; Π can have a very curly second hasta (line 2, not as visible on the drawing as it should be), reaching all the way down to the baseline – or splay, as in line 11; often it is difficult to tell T and Y apart. lines 8–9: Dakaris 1967, 397–9 (*BE* 1969.350) publishes a funerary stele of Ἀντίοχος Μενεφύλου (dated to the second century, 389), and thinks this is the same person; if so, the letter-forms show how much difference there can be across media, since this stone tombstone has large letters (except for smaller Ο), broken-barred Α, and four-barred Σ. This is not a problem: stonemasons were faster to adopt the broken-barred Α (first appeared on stone on C6, Alexander II) and slower to adopt lunate letters.

23. C71=Evangelides 1935, 248–51 no. 3 and pl. 27a. Dodona. (*BE* 1939.153 no. 3; Hammond 1967, 529 n.1; Cabanes 1976a, 586–7 no. 71; Cabanes 2004, 14; *SEG* LIV.578.) Bronze tablet, folded in half; found in the apotheka (h 0.085, w 0.185; letter h 0.005–0.006). 167 BC (Hammond); 164 BC (Evangelides); mid-second century (Cabanes 1988b, 58–9). 190–167 BC. Not found in April 2007.



- Ἀγωνοθετοῦντος Κορίθου τοῦ Μενελά-
 ου Κεστρινοῦ ἔτους δ' μηνὸς Ἀπελλαίου τοῖς
 < ΤΙΑΟΙΑΣ > Νάοις ἀφίεντι ἐλεύθερον Σωτίωνα παρὰ Δί-
 α Νάον καὶ Διώναν Δεξίλαος Εὐρυνόου,
 5 Φερένικος Δεξίλαου, Φιλοξένα Τιμαγόρα,
 Φιλοξένα Ὀρέστου {ου} ἀνέφαπτον ἀπὸ
 πάντων. Μάρτυρες· Σιμίας Λυκότα, Φιλό-
 νικος Εὐρύμμα, Ἀντίνοος Δοκίμου Ὀρε-
 στοὶ Μολοσοί (!), Φίλιππος Θιέρου, Σεμίδος Πο-
 10 λυκλέους Δωδωναῖοι. *vacat*.

“Korithos (son) of Menelaos, Kestrinos, was agonothete, in the fourth year, in the month Apellaios, on the festival of the Naia. Dexilaos (son) of Eurynooos, Pherenikos (son) of Dexilaos, Philoxena (daughter) of Timagoras, Philoxena (daughter) of Orestes {OU} set free Sotion before Zeus Naos and Dionē, untouchable by all. Witnesses: Simias (son) of Lukotas, Philonikos (son) of Eurummas, Antinous (son) of Dokimos, (all) Orestoi Molosoi (*sic*); Philippos (son) of Thieros, Seimidos (son) of Polukles, Dodonaioi.” *vacat*.

3 ΤΙΑΟΙΑΣ is written above, and later than, ΝΑΟΙΣ Evangelides (although he published only ΤΟΙΣ ΝΑΟΙΣ); 9 ὁ Ἰέρου Evangelides, Cabanes was suspicious, but could not correct from the picture; 9 Σεμίας Πολυ Evangelides, Cabanes.

This plaque could not be found in either the National Museum or the Ioannina Museum in April 2007, and Cabanes apparently also never saw it. From the picture it has broken-barred A and also A whose bars run to the bottom of the second hasta; lunate E, Σ (but not always), and Ω (these above

the line); T and Y that can be distinguished only with difficulty; and triangular letters with swing. line 1: agonothete as a dating component used in *SGDI* 1371 (two inscribed vases, of unknown date); and C27, C28, and C29, all of Roman date. That this plaque does not date by *strategos* is no reason to assume that there was no *strategos* (see below **no. 27**). line 3: Evangelides was unclear about what ΤΙΑΟΙΑΣ could be, but suggested some additional dating element. line 9: I suggest different readings for the end of the line: for ὁ Ἰέρου, Θιέρου (unattested, but perhaps on the analogy of Θέαρος, in *LGPV* IIIA); for Σεμίας Πολυ (which added a second syllable to Po- that I do not see on the plaque!), Σεμίδος Πο. Σεμίδος is likewise unattested, but Σεμίδης (*IG* II-III² 10380), Σεμίδης (*IG* V.1.152) and Σεμίδας (*IG* V.1.1341) are all attested, and perhaps this is related.

24. C75=Orlandos 1969 [1970] 27–8. Dodona. (*BE* 1970.348, *BE* 1971.384; Michaud 1970, 1020–1; Dakaris 1969 [1971] 35 and pl. 43A; Cabanes 1976a, 364 and 589 no. 75; Vokotopoulou 1973, 84 no. 2595; Kontorini 1987, 630–1 no. 14 and pl. 9b [*SEG* XXXVII.510].) Stele, found within *bouleuterion* (h 0.305, w [top] 0.297, [bottom] 0.315). 232–167 BC (Vokotopoulou); beginning second century BC (Kontorini). 180–167 BC. Ioannina museum no. 2595.

- Στραταγο[ὕ]ντος Ἀπει-
ρωτῶν Εὐάλκου Ἀ-
ριαντέος, προστατεύ-
οντος δὲ Μολοσσῶ-
5 ν Πολυκλείτου Ὀσσονί-
ου, μηνὸς Φοινικαίου, ἀφῆ-
κε ἐλευθέραν, ἀνέφα-
πτον Ἀγαθοκλείαν, ἃν ἐκά-
λουν Εὐπορίαν, Ἀνάξαν-
10 δρος Γέλωνος Φαργαναί-
ος, ὃν ἄτεκνος. *vacat*.
Μάρτυρες Ἀντίνου
Ἀλεξιμάχου Κλάθρι-
ος, Ἀντίνου Νικομάχ-
15 [ου] Σ[traces].



“Eualkes Ariantēs was *strategos* of the Apirotes, Polykleitos Ossonios was *prostatas* of the Molossians, in the month Phoinikaïos, Anaxandros (son) of Gelon, Pharganaïos, being childless, set free, untouchable, Agathokleia, whom they also call Euporia. Witnesses: Antinous (son) of Aleximachos, Klathrios; Antinous (son) of Nikomachos, S[–].”

14–15 Νικομάχ[ου] Orlandos, Dakaris, Νικομάχ[ου] Kontorini.

This inscription observes neither syllable- nor word-division. Letters are large, square, and on the line (including E, Σ, and Ω); definite broken-barred A; the second hasta of Π reaches the baseline and sometimes curls. If Antinous Klathrios of lines 12–13 is the same as the Antinous Klathrios who served as *strategos* of the Epirote *koinon* twice (C32-33; the second time right before or during the Third Macedonian War), then this inscription should probably be dated ca. 180–167 BC; curved- or bent-barred alphas characterize the five official inscriptions on stone (C14-C18) between 235 and 192 BC, so this inscription might for that reason also be a little later than they are. lines 12–15: there may be only two witnesses to this manumission.

25. C76=Cabanes 1976a, 589–91 no. 76 and pl. 11. Dodona. (*SEG* XXVI.704; mentioned but not published in Orlandos 1969 [1970] 27; Dakaris 1969 [1971] 35; Michaud 1970, 1020–1.) Two non-joining bronze fragments, with hole in bottom left corner for posting (no dimensions given); the bronze is heavy and thick. Second century BC (Cabanes). 175–170 BC. Ioannina museum no. 2670 (the small second fragment missing in April 2007).

- [Στραταγοῦντος Ἀπειρωτᾶ]ν
 [. ca. 15]ουκα
 [. ca. 15], πρ(οστατεύοντος) δὲ
 [Μολοσσῶν] του Λυκί-
 5 [σκου, μηνὸς] Φοινικαίου
 [ἀφίεντι ἐλεύ]θερον παρὰ
 Δία Ν[άον καὶ Δ]ιώναν Ἀ[ντί-]
 νους Ἀντιπ[άτρου, Κλεόμη-]
 τις Τιμόνα [ἀφίεντι Δεί-]
 10 νωνα ἐλεύθ[ερον ἀπὸ τᾶς]
 σήμερον ἀμ[έρας τράχειν ὅ-]
 παὶ κα αὐτὸς θέληι. Θεός· τύ-]
 χαι τῇ ἀγ[αθῇ. Μάρτυρες·]
 Ἑκτωρ Στρα[. , Με-]
 15 νοίτας Κλ[. ca. 12]
 Φαλακρίων[ος, Λα-]
 μίσκου, Ἀντ[. ca. 11]
 Μο(λοσσοὶ) Ὀρραῖτα[ι].



vacat.

“[.]ouka [– (or – (son) of – louka –), ethnic, was *strategos* of the Apirote]s, and [. . .]tos, (son) of Lyki[skos] was *pr(ostatas)* of the [Molossians, in the month] Phoinikaio[s]; set free before Zeus N[aios and D]ionē, Antinoos (son) of Antiplate[r], (and) Kleome[ti]s (son) of Timonas [set Dei]non free [from the] present day [to move w]herever he himsel[f wishes. God; with go]od for[tune. Witnesses]: Hektor, (son) of Stra[. , Me]noitas, (son) of Kl[.], (son) of Phalakrion, [. , (son) of La- or Phor]miskos, Ant[.], (all) M(olossoi) Horraitai.” *vacat.*

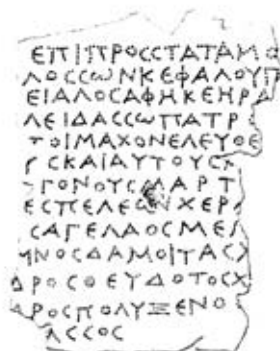
1–2 [Θεός, τύχα. Στραταγοῦ]ν[τος Ἀπειρωτᾶν . . .] Cabanes; 9–10 Cabanes left an unfilled gap before [Δεί]λωνα; 11–12 ἀμ[έρας ποιεῖν ὅ]παὶ κα αὐτὸς προαιρῆται. τύ] Cabanes; 18 Ὀρραῖται Cabanes, Ὀρραῖται (or Ὀρραῖται) Chaniotis (*per epist.*).

Cabanes has joined the two fragments at line 7, and restored line length as between eighteen and twenty letters (I agree; but have nonetheless restored line 1 to twenty-two letters and lines 12–13 to twenty-one letters). Two abbreviations (line 3 and line 18) are used, the first the same as used in C33, a proxeny-decree dated ca. 175–171 BC. This, and the (son) of Lykis[kos] serving as *prostatas* – whose father could well have been the *proxenos* of the Aetolians in *IG IX*² 1.29 l.33 ca. 210 BC, hence a prominent family – suggest a date around 175–170. The crossbars of the A go all the way to the baseline on the left hasta, giving them a left-leaning look. P is a very tall letter, with a tail; lunate E, Σ, Ω. Since the second smaller fragment could not be found, the two fragments could not be compared; in the picture their letter forms look very similar. The one unsettling thought is that the formula [ἀφίεντι ἐλεύ]θερον must be restored twice in the same document, which is awkward and highly unusual; it is therefore still possible that the two fragments do not belong together or that the restorations are wrong. Cabanes’s restorations in 1–2 created the awkward situation that

the invocation both began the inscription and returned again at 12–13. Similarly, his restorations repeated ἐλευθερον at line 6 and line 10. By restoring differently, I have at least removed the double invocation. lines 2–3: a lot of room for the name of the *strategos*, but this is not impossible, especially if he has both patronym and ethnic. lines 8–9: Kleometis is restored by Cabanes on the basis of its frequency at Buthrotum, e.g. *I.Bouthr.* 18.11. line 9: Timonas suggested by Cabanes 1976a, 591, while Thomas Corsten suggests to me Τιμόνα[κτος], which has the advantage of removing the second ἀφίεντι but still leaves the second ἐλευθερον; [ἀφίεντι Δεί]νονα ἐλευθ[ερον] is restored thus because verb and adjective (as well as object) are not usually greatly separated. Cabanes's restoration put them three lines apart. line 11: ἀμ[έρας ποιῆν], which Cabanes confessed was awkward. I suggest τράχειν (for ἀποτράχειν, used in C74 [no. 8], *SGDI* 1357 [no. 20], *SGDI* 1358 [no. 21]), which goes better with the clause that follows. line 12: I have simply restored two usual formulae here, which together also happen to fit the line length. There are probably five witnesses.

26. *SGDI* 1352. Dodona. (Carapanos 1878a, 57–8 no. 11 and pl. XXX.2; Fick 1879, 278–9; Roberts 1881, 116; Robert 1940, 98; Cabanes 1976a, 581–2 no. 56 [*SEG* XXVI.709].) Bronze tablet: although virtually complete, no original edges preserved (and no holes for posting) (h 0.14). 200–170 BC (Roberts). 175–167 BC. In National Museum, Carapanos collection no. 476.

- Ἐπὶ προστάτα (!) Μο-
 λασσῶν Κεφάλου Π-
 εἰάλος ἀφῆκε Ἡρα[κ-]
 λείδας Σώπατρο[ν]
 5 Τοίμαχον ἐλευθέ[ρο-]
 υς καὶ αὐτοὺς κ[αὶ ἐ-]
 [κ]γόνους. Μάρτ[υρ-]
 ες· Πελέων Χέρα[δρ-]
 [ο]ς Ἀγέλαος Μεν[. . -]
 10 μνος Δαμοίτας Χ[έρα-]
 δρος Θεύδοτος Χ[έρα-]
 δρος Πολύξενος [. . -]
 [. .]ασσος, *vacat*.

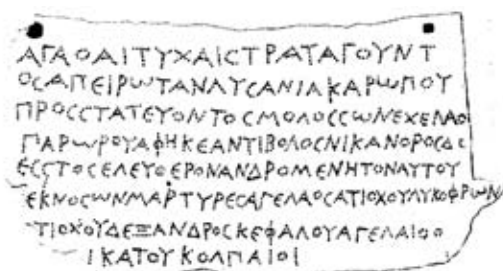


“When Kephalos Peials was *prosstatas* (*sic*) of the Molossians; Herakleidas let go Sopatros (and) Toimachos free, both them and their descendants. Witnesses: Peleon Cheradros, Agelaos Me[. .]mnos, Damoitas Cheradros, Theudotos Cheradros, Polyxenos [. . .]assos.”

5 [Ε]τοίμαχον Fick; 8–9 Χέρα[δρ]ος Fick; 9–10 Μέν[ιος] Ἄμυ]μνος Fick, Μεν[έα] *SGDI*, Μεν[. .]μνος an unknown ethnic, Cabanes.

Cabanes improved the spacing, placing many of Fick's restorations at the ends (rather than the beginnings) of lines. Lunate Ε, Σ, Ω; Ο small and floating a bit above the line; Π with curvy second hasta, not always reaching quite to the baseline, and sometimes splay (lines 1, 8). Kephalos is likely to be the same man who was *strategos* sometime between 175 and 168, Pol. 30.7.2 and Liv. 43.18.2. lines 2–3: Πείαλος is genitive, see Mendez Dosuna 1985, 189. lines 12–13: [. . .]ασσος is (also) an unidentified ethnic.

27. *SGDI* 1350. Dodona. (Carapanos 1878a, 60 no. 14 and pl. XXX.5; Fick 1879, 275–6; Roberts 1881, 116–17; *Syll.*¹ 442; *Syll.*² 838; Michel 1900, 1424; *IJG* 37; Gaebler 1927, 250–1 n.3; Robert 1940, 98 n.4; Cabanes 1976a, 580 no. 54.) Complete bronze tablet (only left bottom corner missing) with two holes in top corners for posting (w 0.19). Ca. 170 BC (*Syll.*¹); 175–170 (Cabanes). 175–167 BC. In National Museum, Carapanos collection no. 465.



- Ἀγαθαί τύχαι. Στραταγοῦντ-
 ος Ἀπειρωτῶν Λυσανία Καρώπου (!)
 προσστατεύοντος (!) Μολοσσῶν Ἐχελάου]
 Παρώρου, ἀφῆκε Ἀντίβολος Νικάνορος Δοι-
 5 ἔστος ἐλεύθερον Ἀνδρομένη τὸν αὐτοῦ,
 [ἄτ]εκνος ὢν. Μάρτυρες Ἀγέλαος Ἀτιόχου (!), Λυκόφρων
 [Ἀν]τιόχου, Δέξανδρος Κεφάλου, Ἀγελαῖο<ς>
 [.] ικατου, Κολπαῖοι. *vacat*.

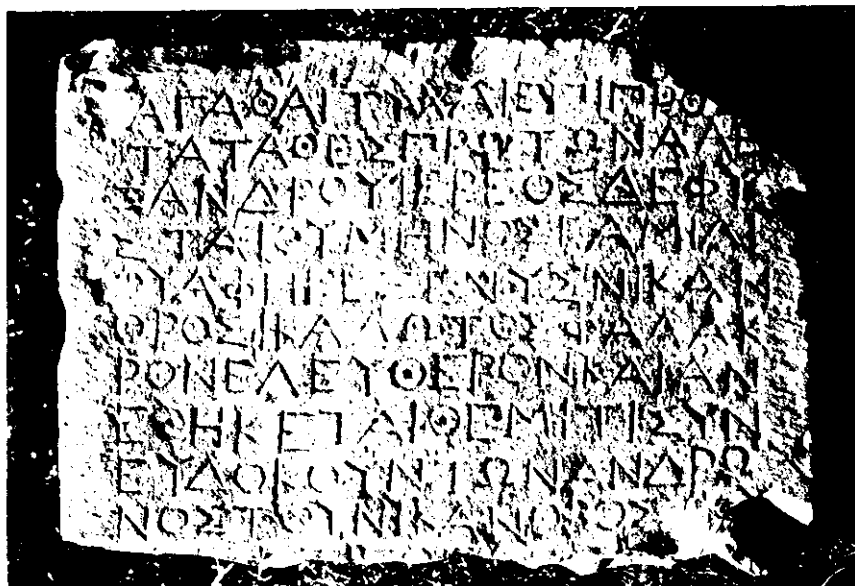
“With Good Fortune. Lysanias Karopos (*sic*) was *strategos* of the Apirotes, Echelaos Paroros was *prosstates* (*sic*) of the Molossians; Antibolos (son) of Nikanor, Doiesstos, being childless, let go free his own Andromenes. Witnesses: Agelaos (son) of Atiochus (*sic*), Lykophron (son) of [An]tiochus, Dexandros (son) of Kephalos, Agelaio<s> (son) of [.] ikaatos, (all) Kolpaiοι.”

4 Δοιέστος Gaebler (autopsy); 7 [Ἀτ]ιόχου Carapanos, [Ἀν]τιόχου Fick; 7 Ἀγελαῖο on plaque, corrected to Ἀγελαῖο<ς> ὁ Fick; 8 [Ἀν]ικατού Fick, [Δυσν]ικατού *Syll.*¹.

The right edge of the plaque, even at line 6, is straight (despite the drawing!). Lunate Ε, Σ, Ω; small letters, especially Ο, are usually written above the line; the second hasta of Π curls (line 2). The plaque is difficult to read at the ends of line 3 and 7. line 2: the name Lysanias, son of Nikolaos, Karjopos, appears in C33 (175–170 BC), where the *strategos* of the Epirotes for the second time is Antinous Klathrios, known from Polybius (27.5.7; 30.7.2) and Livy (45.26.5) as thinking himself the equal of Perseus of Macedon. Fick surmises that (line 2) Καρώπου is a misspelling of Καριώπου (as in C33). line 8: Fick confidently stated that only one name, Ἀνίκατος, ended in -ικατος, but from *LGPN* IIIA we have also Ἐπίκατος (*I.Bouthr.* 44.6); and what is really wanted is a longer name, but no others are as yet attested in the northwest. It is possible that this line was indented three letter-spaces.

GOUMANI (GITANA)

28. C49=Dakaris 1972, 86 no. 252. Goumani (Gitana). (Dakaris 1960b [1962] 207; Daux 1961, 733–7; Cabanes 1976a, 157, 176, 291, 451, 576–7 no. 49 [SEG XXVI.717]; Vokotopoulou 1973, 84 no. 6; Tzouvara-Souli 1979, 91 and pl. 35c; Kontorini 1987, 629 no. 13 and pl. 9a.) Stele (found reused in cemetery) (h 0.243, w 0.354). Mid-fourth c. BC (Kontorini). ca. 290–167 BC. Ioannina museum no. 6.



- Ἀγαθαὶ τύχαι. ἐπὶ προ[σ-]
τάτα Θεσπρωτῶν Ἀλε-
ξάνδρου, ἱερέος δὲ Φυ-
σταίου, μηνὸς Γαμιλί-
5 ου, ἀφῆκε Ξένυς Νικάν-
ορος Ἰκαδωτος Φάλακ-
ρον ἐλεύθερον καὶ ἀν-
έθηκε τῇ Θέμιτι, συν-
ευδοκούντων Ἀνδρω-
10 νος τοῦ Νικάνορος υἱοῦ,
[καὶ] Ἀ[ν]τιγό[ν]ου τ[οῦ]
[—].

“With Good Fortune. When Alexandros was *prostatas* of the Thesprotians, and Phystaios was priest, in the month Gamilios; Xenys (son) of Nikanor, Ikadotos, set Phalakros free and dedicated (him) to Themis, with the agreement of Andron, the son of Nikanor, and Antigon[os], t[he] (son) of — .”

6 Ἰκαδωτος accent not known, Kontorini; 10 [ΣΩ]Σ Cabanes, ΥΙΑΣ Kontorini; 11 Ἀντιγόν Cabanes, [. . . Ἀν]τιγό[ν]ο[υ] T Kontorini.

Square, large letters. Straight-barred A; E occasionally has a tail; the second hasta of Π does not reach the baseline; bottom hasta of Σ is parallel to baseline; Ω sometimes on, sometimes above the line, pinched in slightly at bottom (line 9). *SGDI* 1370 is the only inscription (a bronze plaque) naming the (restored) *koinon* of the Thesprotians; Cabanes dates it, like this inscription, after 167 (it names an agonotheite and has lunate letters) for that reason. If his historical assumptions are wrong, however, this inscription can date anywhere from ca. 290 to ca. 167 BC (pinched-in Ω starts to appear under King Pyrrhus; stone inscriptions retain straight letter-forms longer than bronze inscriptions). C75 (above **no. 25**), a stone inscription from Dodona that resembles this one in many letters, has broken-barred A and Π with a longer right hasta, and is dated ca. 180–167 BC. line 4–5: Γα-μιλίου for Γαμελίου (in Attic), a standard spelling in Epirus (Buthrotum). The naming of a month is unusual; in Dodona, with the exception of the problematic C1, this happens only after 232 BC (the first preserved and dated example is C34 of 205 BC; see also C71 [**no. 23**], C75 [**no. 25**], and C76 [**no. 26**]). line 10: the four letters at the end of the line are partially destroyed, but I am certain that the third is the top of a circular letter – omicron or omega – and not an alpha; the last letter has the left-slanting hasta of Y.

29. Preka-Alexandri 2001, 169. Gitana. Unpublished? Manumission of one slave in front of witnesses. Reported as surviving in two fragments in a room adjoining the stoa tentatively identified as a cult area of Apollo Agyieas.

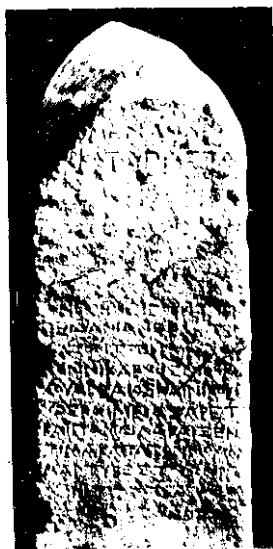
FENIKI (PHOINIKĒ)

30. C47=Ugolini 1932, 147–8 no. 1 and fig. 80. Phoinikē. (Franke 1961, 292; Oikonomides 1963, 37 no. 8 [*SEG* XXIII.478]; Cabanes 1976a, 569–73 no. 47 and pl. 9a [*SEG* XXVI.720].) Stone cippus (reused in a Byzantine tomb). Fourth century BC (*SEG* XXIII); 250–200 BC (Franke); after 232 BC (Cabanes). 250–167 BC. Could not be found in the Albanian museums by Cabanes or myself, and must be read from the only surviving picture (in Ugolini).

[Ἀγαθαί] τύχα[ι. Στρα-]
[ταγοῦ]ντος Ἀπ[ειρω-]
[τάν] Μενάνδρο[υ]
[. . .]οκάτου, προστα-
5 [τεύοντος Χαόνων]

[six lines erased]

ἀνέθηκε ἱερὸν τῶι Πο-
τειδᾶνι ἀνέφαπτον
[Δ]άζον τὸν {TION} δοῦ-
15 λον Νίκαρχος Νικομά-
χου· Ἀρβαῖος καὶ Νικόμα-
χος καὶ Μνασαρέτα
καὶ Παμφίλα καὶ Ξενο-
τίμα κατὰ τὸν νόμον·
20 μάρτυρες τῶν ἀρ-
χόντων. *vacat*.



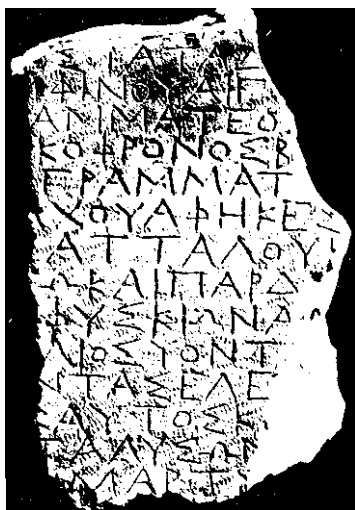
“[With Good] Fortune. Menander [. . .]okatos was *strategos* of the Ap[ei]rotes, [– was] *prosta*[tas of the Chaonians] *six lines erased* Nikarchos (son) of Nikomachos dedicated as sacred to Poseidon, untouchable, [D]azos the {TION} slave. Arbaïos and Nikomachos and Mnasareta and Pamphila and Xenotima were witnesses of the archons according to the law.”

Ugolini did not read lines 1–5 or 14. 1 [Ἀγαθὰ] τύχα Oikonomides, [Ἀγαθαῖ] τύχα[ι. Στρα-] Cabanes; 2 [ἐπὶ ἄρχο]ντος Ἀγιά[δα] Oikonomides, [ταγοῦ]ντος Ἀπ[ειρω-] Cabanes; 3 *init.* Cabanes supplies [τᾶν]; 4 [. . .]οκατου ΠΠΟΣ[. . .]ΙΑ Oikonomides, [. . .]ρκράτου, προσστα- Cabanes; 13 [σ]ειδᾶνι Ugolini, [τ]ειδᾶνι Oikonomides; 14 ##Λεόντιον Oikonomides, [Δ]άζον {τὸν} Cabanes.

A is broken-barred; Z is shaped more like I with strong top and bottom horizontal hastae, as is found also in C16, a proxeny decree from the end of the third century BC at Dodona; O is small and above the line, the second hasta of Π goes down to the baseline and flares a little. The definite broken-barred A and Π with a long second hasta might date this inscription after the middle of the third century BC; I have dated **no. 25** above, from Dodona, which also has a definite broken-barred alpha, sometime ca. 180 or after. line 4: I think the first readable letter in this line is O; Cabanes’s reading of P points towards either a non-existent formation of a name (if this is a patronym), or an equally difficult (and unknown) formation of an ethnic. line 4 *fin.*: Cabanes thought he saw two sigmas in *prosstas* here; I see only one wide one, which seems typical of this inscription. line 14: towards the end of the line, where Cabanes diagnosed an inscriber’s error, I think I can see four letters, but this part of the stone seems to have suffered some damage and the eye sees ‘letters’ that are larger than those of the rest of the line; my four letters are as meaningless in the context as Cabanes’s three were. One would expect something like ΙΔΙΟΝ here. lines 15–16: Cabanes (1976a, 572) thought that Nikarchos, son of Nikomachos was the first witness, and as such was distinguished with his ethnic (Arbaïos) while the other witnesses were not; this would, however, be very unusual (different components for different witness-names in the same lists occurs rarely, in *SGDI* 1350=**no. 1**, where only one witness of fourteen has neither ethnic nor patronym; C74=**no. 8**, three with patronyms, two with ethnics). line 21: this signifies “witnesses of the magistrates in general,” Cabanes 1976a, 570, and at 572 he has trouble believing that women could be this type of official witness, and thus postulates that the list should have continued, or was erased; from the picture, it seems to me that the inscribing stopped here, and what appears to be erasure was merely the preparation of the stone for inscribing.

31. C48=Ugolini 1932, 148–51 no. 2 and fig. 81. Phoinikē. (Oikonomides 1963, 37–8 no. 9 and fig. 5 [*SEG XXIII.479*]; Cabanes 1976a, 574–6 no. 48 and pl. 9b [*SEG XXVI.721*].) Fragment (built into a Byzantine wall on the south edge of the plateau of the acropolis). “ . . . [T]he form of the letters and the formation of some of the words indicate a date not later than the last quarter of the 4th century BC” (Oikonomides); fourth/third century BC (*SEG XXIII*); 230–168 BC (Cabanes).

- [–] M [– ἐπὶ]
 [πρ]οστάτα δ[ἐ]
 [Ἀ]μφίνου Αἰγ[ιδορίου,]
 [γρ]αμματέος [δὲ]
 5 [Λυ]κόφρονος Βο[. . . , ἐπὶ]
 [δὲ] γραμματ[έως]
 [μ]άχου, ἀφῆκε Σ[. . . .]
 [. . .] Ἀττάλου Ἰ[.]
 [. . .] ὦ? καὶ Παρδ[άλιν κ-]
 10 [αἰ] Φυσκίωνα [τὸν Παρ-]
 [δά]λιος ὄν, τ[οὺς ἀφω-]
 [θέ]ντας ἐλε[υθέρους]
 [. . .] κ' αὐτὸς κ[αὶ]
 [. . .] τα Λύσω Ν[.]
 15 [. . .]. Μάρτυ[ρες]



“[–]m[– when , (son) of A]mphinos, Aig[idorios, was *pr*ostatas, when [. . . . , (son) of Lu]kophron Bo[. . .] was se]cretary, and [when]machos [was] secret[ary], S[. l . . .], (son) of Attalos, (ethnic?) let go [. l . . .]o and Pard[alis and] Phuskion son of [Parda]lis, and t[hose] le[t go fr]ee . . .] both themselves a[nd l . . .]ta Luso N[. l . . .]. Witnes[ses –].”

Ugolini did not transcribe this inscription. line 2: δ[ἐ Ἀδμάτου τοῦ] Cabanes. line 3: Oikonomides did not read this line. line 3 *fin.*: [–]μφίνου Αἰγ[–] SEG XXIII.479; Αἰγ[ιδορίου, ἐπὶ δὲ] Cabanes. line 4: [γρ]αμματε[ι]ο[υ] Oikonomides, [γρ]αμματέος SEG XXIII.479, Cabanes. line 6: γραμματ[έως?] Oikonomides, γραμματ[έως] Cabanes. line 7: [–]άχου, ἀφῆκε σ[ωμάτιον] SEG XXIII.479. line 8: [. . .] Ἀττάλου κ Oikonomides. line 11: τ[οὺςδε ὑπ'] Oikonomides; lines 11–12: τ[οὺς ἀφω]θε[ν]τας Cabanes. line 12: [αὐτ – ἀφ]έ[ντας] Oikonomides, τ[οὺς ἀφω]θε[ν]τας Cabanes. lines 12–13: ἐλε[υθέρους εἶναι –] Oikonomides. line 13: κ' αὐτο[ὺς] κ[αὶ ἐκ]όνους Oikonomides, κ' αὐτὸς κ[αὶ –] Cabanes. line 14: Λύσων Oikonomides, Λύσω Ν Cabanes.

Wide letters. A is straight-barred, Σ is relatively open, Φ has a horizontal bottom hasta and in line three is virtually triangular; Ω is wide and smaller, with long horizontal hastae. Length of line is probably sixteen or seventeen letters (sixteen is given by line 10, which has generous spacing, seventeen in line 3). line 2: Cabanes (1976a, 574) assumed that he had the full name here of a man (Admatos) who appears in a Bouthrotos inscription (SEG XXXVIII.498), but must restore the entire first name for this to be the case. line 3 *fin.*: Cabanes reads I here, but I see no trace of it on the stone (and its bottom half should have appeared); perhaps the spacing is very generous here. line 8 *fin.*: the picture shows the remains of a vertical hasta, possibly with the beginnings of a crossbar, here. line 9 *init.*: this must be a name ending in -Ω, for which the accusative also ends in -Ω; for an example of this, see above SGDI 1359+1362=no. 10 (Φλεόχω). line 9 *fin.*: Pardalis: this could be either Pardalis (f.) or Pardalios (m.), Cabanes 1976a, 575. lines 11–12: [ἀφω]θε[ν]τας, suggested by Cabanes, has parallels from Buthrotum (SEG XXXVIII.471, 475, 477–9, 488, 498, 500, 501). line 13: κ' αὐτός for κ' αὐτούς, which is common. line 14: Lyso N[–]; this could also be Lyson, Cabanes 1976a, 576.

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2. C. Carapanos, *Dodone et ses ruines* (Paris, 1878) pl. XXXII.1.

3. C. Carapanos, *Dodone et ses ruines* (Paris, 1878) pl. XXXII.2 (adjusted in photoshop).
4. C. Carapanos, *Dodone et ses ruines* (Paris, 1878) pl. XXIX.3 (adjusted in photoshop).
5. C. Carapanos, *Dodone et ses ruines* (Paris, 1878) pl. XXXII.4.
6. C. Carapanos, *Dodone et ses ruines* (Paris, 1878) pls. XXXIII.1 and 11.
7. D. Evangelides, "ΗΠΕΙΡΩΤΙΚΑΙ ΕΡΕΥΝΑΙ. 1. Η ΑΝΑΣΚΑΦΗ ΤΗΣ ΔΩ-ΔΩΝΗΣ," *Epeirotika Chronika* 10 (1935) 192-264 pl. 26b.
8. photo E. A. Meyer, April 2007.
9. C. Carapanos, *Dodone et ses ruines* (Paris, 1878) pl. XXXI.1.
10. C. Carapanos, *Dodone et ses ruines* (Paris, 1878) pls. XXX.1 and XXXIII.7-8 (adjusted in photoshop).
13. C. Carapanos, *Dodone et ses ruines* (Paris, 1878) pl. XXXIII.12.
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16. C. Carapanos, *Dodone et ses ruines* (Paris, 1878) pl. XXXIII.5.
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18. C. Carapanos, *Dodone et ses ruines* (Paris, 1878) pl. XXXIII.14.
20. T. Gomperz, "Dodonäische Aehrenlese," *Archaeologisch-Epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Österreich* 5 (1881) 130-9, drawing p. 134.
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22. C. Carapanos, *Dodone et ses ruines* (Paris, 1878) pl. XXX.4.
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24. S. I. Dakaris, "Ανασκαφή τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς Δωδώνης," *Praktika* 1969 [1971] 26-35 pl. 43A.
25. P. Cabanes, *L'Épire de la mort de Pyrrhus à la conquête romaine (272-167 av. J. C.)* (Paris-Besançon, 1976) pl. 11 (adjusted in photoshop).
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28. C. Tzouvara-Souli, "Ἡ λατρεία τῶν γυναικείων θεοτήτων εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν Ἡπειρον (Ioannina, 1979) pl. 35c.
30. L. M. Ugolini, *Albania Antica II. L'Acropoli di Fenice* (Rome, 1932) 147 fig. 80.
31. L. M. Ugolini, *Albania Antica II. L'Acropoli di Fenice* (Rome, 1932) 148-51 fig. 81.

VII. ABBREVIATIONS

<i>BE</i>	<i>Bulletin Épigraphique</i> in <i>Revue des Études Grecques</i> (various editors; 1888–).
<i>CID</i>	<i>Corpus des inscriptions de Delphes</i> (various editors; Paris, 1977–).
<i>FD</i>	<i>Fouilles de Delphes</i> (various editors; Paris, 1902–).
<i>FGrH</i>	F. Jacoby, ed., <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> (seven volumes; Berlin, 1923–30).
<i>GHI</i>	M. N. Tod, <i>A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions</i> (two volumes; Oxford, ² 1946–8).
<i>ID</i>	<i>Inscriptions de Délos</i> (various editors; Paris, 1926–).
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> (various editors; Berlin, 1873–).
<i>IJG</i>	R. Dareste, B. Haussoullier, and T. Reinach, eds., <i>Recueil des inscriptions juridiques grecques</i> (Paris 1891, repr. Rome 1965).
<i>I.Alexandreia Troas</i>	M. Riel, <i>The Inscriptions of Alexandreia Troas (Inchriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 53; Bonn 1997)</i> .
<i>I.Apoll.</i>	P. Cabanes and F. Drini, eds., <i>Corpus des inscriptions grecques d’Illyrie méridionale et d’Épire 2.1.2. Inscriptions d’Épidamne-Dyrrhachion et d’Apollonia. Inscriptions d’Apollonia</i> (Athens, 1998).
<i>I.Bouthr.</i>	P. Cabanes and F. Drini., eds., <i>Corpus des inscriptions grecques d’Illyrie méridionale et d’Épire 2.2. Inscriptions de Bouthrôtos</i> (Athens, 2007).
<i>I.Dyrrh.</i>	P. Cabanes and F. Drini., eds., <i>Corpus des inscriptions grecques d’Illyrie méridionale et d’Épire 2.1.1. Inscriptions d’Épidamne-Dyrrhachion et d’Apollonia. Inscriptions d’Épidamne-Dyrrhachion</i> (Athens, 1995).

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- I.Oropos* B. Petrakos, *ΟΙ ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΕΣ ΤΟΥ ΩΡΩΠΟΥ (ΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗ ΤΗΣ ΕΝ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΗΣ ΕΤΑΙΡΕΙΑΣ 170*; Athens, 1997).
- IvP* M. Fränkel, ed., *Die Inschriften von Pergamon (Altertümer von Pergamon 8*; three volumes, Berlin, 1890–1969).
- LGN IIIA* P. Fraser and E. Matthews, eds., *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names. IIIA. The Peloponnese, Western Greece, Sicily, and Magna Graecia* (Oxford, 1997).
- SEG* *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (various editors; Leiden, 1923–).
- SGDI* H. Collitz, ed., *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften* (four volumes; Göttingen, 1884–1915).
- SV^A 2* H. Bengtson and R. Wegner, eds., *Die Staatsverträge des Altertums 2. Die Verträge der griechisch-römischen Welt von 700 bis 338 v. Chr.* (Munich, ¹1975).
- SV^A 3* H. H. Schmidt, ed., *Die Staatsverträge des Altertums 3. Die Verträge der griechisch-römischen Welt von 338 bis 200 v. Chr.* (Munich, 1969).
- Syll.¹, Syll.², Syll.³* W. Dittenberger, ed., *Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum* (Leipzig, ¹1883; ²1898–1901; ³1915–21).

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